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Minority Stockholders vs. Jim Crow—Continued

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Dr. Louis T. Wright Honored

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To Crisis Subscribers and Readers

The August and September Issues of the Crisis are combined in one Issue, August-September, out September 1

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
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Editorials

THE SINGLE ISSUE

AS this is written, we do not know who the presidential candidates will be. But we do know that the man who gets into the White House next November is going to need Negro votes. And the party that gets them this fall is going to get them only on a forthright civil-rights platform. Negroes are tired of being second-class citizens and they are going to turn thumbs down on any candidate, Democratic or Republican, who hedges on this all important issue. In fact, for most Negroes it is the only political issue in the presidential race. The politicians must likewise remember that in 1948 it was the Negro vote in pivotal states that gave Mr. Truman his margin of victory.

Negro voters have also duly noted the promises and the actual records of the two parties on this issue. They know that to date the Republicans have consistently ducked civil rights with sanctimonious phrases and empty promises. Led by the most reactionary elements in their party, the Republicans have stymied all efforts at cloture and found it extremely convenient to team up with a coalition of southern Dixiecrat-Democrats to defeat any civil-rights legislation. Remember, too, that even their 1948 platform pledges on civil rights was a retreat from the party position in 1944. You can't keep on appeasing Negro voters with political plums and platitudes.

On the other hand, while the Democratic record is not much better, the party head, President Truman, has nevertheless consistently made civil-rights legislation one of his major objectives. This may be just good politics on the President's part, but it is a tactic which fits in with Negro aspirations.

From now until November Negro voters are going to make a searching examination of party platforms, pronouncements, and the position of the candidates on the issue of full equality and the abolition of jim crow from American life.

JOHN DEWEY

AMERICA lost a great man and distinguished citizen in the death of Dr. John Dewey. Professionally he was a philosopher and educator, but he was primarily an impassioned humanitarian who fought with saintly serenity for the welfare of his fellow man. He believed that the main problem of philosophy was to aid in the organization of a just social order, and for this reason he rejected metaphysics for the more common sense goal, to use his own words of "clarifying men's ideas as to the social and moral strifes of their own day."

Nor did he lose sight of the fact that one-tenth of the American population is Negro and that any genuine liberal program must concern itself with the welfare of this minority. He combined this belief with action and always fought uncompromisingly for the full economic, political, and social equality of Negroes. He was one of the fifty-three signers of "the Lincoln's birthday

call" which led forty-three years ago to the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Crisis mourns the death of so great a mind and so noble a soul as that of Dr. John Dewey.

THE COLONIALIST MENTALITY

IT is a mistake to leave the discussion of African affairs almost exclusively in the hands of European and American "experts" (with token African representation) who faithfully perpetuate the myth that black men must forever remain in tutelage to white. Yet this is just what the North American Assembly on African Affairs recently held at Wittenberg College, Ohio, has done. Of the 400 invited delegates, only 40 were Africans. And the question is, Why? This is certainly a dumbfounding disproportion in view of the thousands of educated Africans perfectly capable of presenting and discussing the problems of their people.

For the day is long past when Africa has to be represented in the councils of Europe or America solely by white "experts," colonial officials, representatives of commercial concerns and concessionaire companies, native toadies, and missionaries. Africans are growing increasingly restive under the "benevolent tutelage" of the West. And they complain increasingly and justifiably about foreign rule, taxation without representation, racist legislation, expropriation, and all the other devices seemingly designed to keep them wretched and backward.

Furthermore, Africans now have an educated elite capable of presenting these problems without bitterness or braggart pretense and larger numbers of this group should be given the chance to appear before conferences concerned with African affairs. Problems of color and colonialism in Africa can never be justly solved until Africans are allowed to work in generous cooperation with their white friends.

SANE AND FUNNY BUSINESS

TWO recent news items show how racial liberals and a fantastic racist can find shelter in the same civilization.

Down in Sewanee, Tennessee, there is an annual Music Festival sponsored jointly by the George Peabody College for Teachers, at Nashville, and the University of the South at Sewanee. When the question of admitting Negro students to the school of theology of the university came up, the trustees were opposed; so eight of the faculty members canceled their teaching and concert contracts. This is liberal, enlightened America.

But farther South, in Alabama, one Harvey G. Woodward has endowed the Indian Springs Schools for boys and combined the ghastly incongruity of educational modernism with malodorous racism. He bars "Jews or Hebrews" and Negroes even as "house or culinary servants." This is Neanderthal America.

NAACP EXECUTIVE SECRETARY IN MEMPHIS—*Walter White (center) standing on steps of Second Congregational church, where he spoke to faculty and students of LeMoyne college. From left, Hollis F. Price, president of LeMoyne; Walter White; and Utillus R. Phillips, president of the local NAACP branch and the Tennessee state conference of NAACP branches.*

■ **A housing expert describes the process by which slum clearance has become Negro clearance**

Habitation With Segregation*

By Robert C. Weaver

WE have long bemoaned the fate of the poor Negro slum dweller. Today he is facing a new threat at the same time that higher income Negroes are caught in a squeeze. And, regretfully, the new crisis, representing gross disregard of civil rights, is largely the result of governmental action.

To those, like myself, who have fought for and worked in public housing, this is disheartening. But more important, it is a dangerous trend which must be recognized by the American people. It is also unnecessary and uncalled for, since it could have been and still can be avoided.

A perusal of the legislative history of the Housing Act of 1949 will reveal that liberal and minority groups' spokesmen recognized the potential dangers in that legislation. They paid special attention to Title I, anticipating that the new title could be perverted from slum clearance to Negro clearance. What was not anticipated, however, was that slum clearance under Title I, in combination with continuation of FHA neglect of the Negro market would engender a new and extremely costly racial discrimination in urban shelter. Ironically enough, in a program supposedly coordinated by the administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, this is an almost unique instance of coordination between slum clearance and FHA mortgage insurance.

No less ironic is the fact that when, at long-last, an appreciable number of colored Americans have sufficient incomes to afford decent housing, those who want to better their home surroundings are forced to pay through the nose. Negro Americans gained a new hope in democracy and renewed belief in our

* An address originally delivered at the National Conference on Discrimination in Housing, Hotel McAlpin, New York City, May 20, 1952.

DR. ROBERT C. WEAVER, *well-known authority on housing and author of* THE NEGRO GHETTO (1948), *is director of Opportunity Fellowships for the John Hay Whitney Foundation, New York City.*

economic system when World War II brought new and better jobs. Recent, epoch-making trends toward abolition of segregation in the Armed Forces restored a measure of their confidence in democratic government's capacity and will to effect social change. The shadow of impending developments in housing is moving away from the march of progress.

As long as the housing problem of Negroes was almost exclusively economic, it was regrettable but not hopeless. True, residential segregation complicated the matter, making the ills of Negro slum dwellers more intense than those of their white prototypes. It aso limited the quality of housing available to higher-income Negroes, but since their numbers were small and some, at last, did break out of the ghetto by premium payments for the privilege, the situation occasioned only sporadic comment. Today there is an appreciable number of middle-income, urban non-white families. They are caught between slum clearance, residential segregation and lack of new construction. Competing with them for a restricted supply of existing housing available to colored families is an increasing number of non-whites of all income levels who are being displaced by slum clearance under Title I and by other public improvements.

URBAN SLUMS

Deporable slums are often concentrated in the center of American cities. Included among them are areas occupied predominantly by non-white families. These latter areas are frequently chosen for the first Title I projects, although they are not the only parts of the city ripe for clearance and redevelopment. Such selection inevitably involves relocating a large number of colored households; and most local slum clearance agencies plan rehousing many of these people in existing structures. But, in the continuing tight housing market facing minoriites, few vacancies in the true economic sense exist. This circumstance, of course, raises the question: why do we limit Title I activity to slum sites when, under the Housing Act of 1949, certain type of vacant sites are equally eligible?

In the meantime additional non-whites are moving to urban centers where they augment the pressure on the existing supply of shelter. Negroes with new, higher incomes, too, are looking for better housing. Both groups — the newcomers and displaced and the dissatisfied—compete in a limited market. Their need is so great that it creates pressure turnover, a process in which present occupants reluctantly leave their abodes under the impetus of high selling prices or the fear of heralded neighborhood deterioration. Title I relocation, therefore, often serves to offer official stimulation of the filtering down process in a forced market where purchase prices and rentals continue to rise.

In the current situation a smaller proportion of white families is being displaced by federal programs, and those who are forced to seek new shelter compete in a much larger and freer housing market. They have access to 98 per cent of the new hous-

ing and most of the desirable structures in the second-hand market.

NEW CONSTRUCTION

Approximately 9,000,000 new dwelling units were constructed by private enterprise during the period 1935-50. Of this total, no more than 100,000, or slightly over one per cent, have been available to non-whites. While a part of the discrepancy reflects the lower economic status of colored families, a far larger part of it results from widespread exclusion of non-whites from new areas and new construction. The FHA-aided segment of the new house market, despite widely-publicized encouragement of minority groups' participation, has an only slightly better record. Probably no more than 50,000 of the 2,761,000 dwelling units benefitting from FHA insurance during the period 1935-50 were available to non-whites, and their greatest concentration was in the Southeast region where existing colored sections were expandable into the outskirts of town. The vast majority of this alarmingly small total was in completely segregated areas or communities.

The process, therefore, is as follows. Middle and upper-income whites are moving into the suburbs. Negroes of all income levels are, in turn, moving into a limited amount of the housing the whites leave behind. But because FHA-insured housing has a single, low interest mortgage, the white home purchaser enjoys a low rate of interest. In contrast to him, the Negro home owner usually falls heir to property on which a 50 to 60 per cent mortgage (as contrasted to 80 per cent FHA insurance mortgage) is the maximum. Since the Negro home owner's mortgage is not insured, the interest rate is universally higher than that on an FHA-insured dwelling. And the Negro has to take junior mortgages, with their frequently high discounts and usually high interest rates. Because of the limited market, often the price of the house the Negro buys is disproportionately high in relation to its value and the purchaser's income. This occasions still larger junior mortgages and still higher interest rates and carrying charges.

UPKEEP HIGH

For a lower sales price and much lower interest and carrying costs, the middle-income white family can get a new, modern, well designed (if often poorly-constructed) structure. It is frequently located in a community and a neighborhood where there are modern and adequate facilities and where there is reasonable chance that values will either increase or where the chances for rapid decline are somewhat slight (barring general deflation of real estate values). The Negro home owner seldom gets any of these benefits flowing from FHA mortgage insurance. The house he buys is old and, even if structurally sound, frequently requires higher upkeep costs. Since it is in a neighborhood from which occupants are fleeing, its community facilities, both public and commercial, are seldom new or well maintained and often inadequate. Values may be sustained, provided the necessity for relocation does not

create so much pressure for housing as to occasion highly profitable overcrowding or undesirable conversions.

MIXED BLESSING

When one considers the absolute cost of Negro-owned homes, their real value and the economic discriminations involved in their purchase, it appears that the increase from 23 to 34 per cent in home ownership among non-whites during the last decade has not been an unmixed blessing.

At the same time that the Negro home owner is paying through the nose, the Negro community as a whole is losing its toehold on desirable sites, destined for slum clearance. The desirability of areas now occupied by Negroes can be gleaned from the fact that they are to be redeveloped for middle and high-income occupancy. This threat — already realized in one or two instances—of Negroes' being displaced from well situated sites to make way for white housing has come to be called Negro clearance. Such action not only involves involuntary displacement, but it accelerates, with Federal assistance, the growth of residential segregation in American cities. It also introduces residential segregation in areas where it previously didn't exist.

This is as unnecessary as it is undesirable. The basic legislation provides for the assembly of vacant and semi-vacant sites as a part of a local slum clearance program. So far the Housing and Home Finance Agency has minimized this possibility, thereby accentuating the shortage of shelter, complicating relocation and increasing seriously the problem of housing for minorities. More than that, failure to exploit vacant and partially vacant sites under Title I means default of a vital tool which could be used to provide more land space and more new public and private housing available to non-whites. Here is a potential but unrealized area for coordination between the Slum Clearance and FHA programs.

The official statements of the Housing and Home Finance Agency when it was attempting to secure passage of the Housing Act of 1949, and subsequent statements of Administrator Raymond Foley to minority groups' organizations would lead one to believe that the agency was acutely aware of this problem. In a letter of January 27, 1949, addressed to the Bureau of the Budget, Mr. Foley stated that he had a responsibility "to see that adequate solutions are found for the minority housing problem which will arise in connection with the clearance of slums and the redevelopment of cleared areas." He also set forth at least one responsibility of the Federal Government in administering Title I, when he said in the same letter, "although Federal aid for the clearance and redevelopment of slum areas must be subject to local determination and aspiration, the Federal Government can make no compromise with the basic civil rights of its citizens."

NEGRO CLEARANCE

Mr. Foley's remarks after passage of the Act were more specific. In addressing an Annual Conference of the Urban League he said:

Further gains may be anticipated as the slum clearance and urban redevel-

opment title of the Housing Act of 1949 is used by local communities to attack the land problem which has long been acknowledged as a basic barrier to acquisition of standard housing by minorities. It is a major responsibility both locally and Federally to see that this title serves to expand rather than reduce the land area necessary to achieve standard density for all those affected by slum clearance activities. Slum clearance should not be used essentially to clear out minority groups from areas to be redeveloped.

In the face of such a statement, one of the first local slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs proposed—that of Baltimore, Maryland—covered two projects which effected Negro clearance and proposed to redevelop a racially mixed slum into an all-white development. The Waverly Project in Baltimore involved displacement of about an equal proportion of Negro and white occupants and a redevelopment project for exclusive white occupancy. The Johns Hopkins project would have displaced about nine times as many Negroes as whites; the redevelopment project would have housed about nine times as many whites as Negroes.

While the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency was supporting potential Negro clearance in Baltimore, a group of citizens approached urban rehabilitation in a different manner in near-by Washington, D. C. According to the December 9, 1951 issue of the Washington *Star*:

> There is a definite movement to restore the Capitol Hill section of southeast Washington such as has been done in Georgetown. White civic groups like the Southeast Washington Citizens' Association and the Southeast Businessmen's Association are doing everything they can to stop the selling of homes to colored families. They have underway an active campaign to persuade white residents to stay in the area, restore their property and halt the population shift.

MAJOR CONTROLS

Writing on residential segregation in 1948, in a book under the title of *The Negro Ghetto*, I described this "private" rehabilitation, indicating the official support offered through the development of parks, new streets and other public improvements. I observed, "There is ample evidence, however, that the National Capital Planning Board is responsive at all time to the two major control groups (the Board of Trade and the Real Estate Board) and has aided in the redevelopment of Georgetown and the Southwest for white occupancy." At that time assistance from a local government agency was a new high in denial of civil rights on the housing front. Today a local agency, operating with federal funds and blessed with approval of a federal agency, can and does affect the whole job of racial displacement.

In Georgetown the Negro property owner did at least, have a chance to cash-in on his displacement. Some received attractive prices, and others still remain to share in the improved neighborhood which has recently been developed. Under the federally-aided program, displacement can be total; it is officially sanctioned, at both national and local levels, and the involuntarily displaced Negro owner must sell at a fair value (determined by traditional appraisal

methods) only to buy in a discriminated housing market where prices invariably exceed appraisal values at times of housing shortage. While the Washington activities may result in a stabilized, improved, racially democratic neighborhood, some of the Title I projects will replace a racially democratic neighborhood with an exclusively white one.

In response to repeated appeals and continuing pressures, the Housing and Home Finance Agency has issued a feeble statement of policy. It is addressed to the Chicago situation but has, we are told, national implications. The statement recognies the need for increased living space for Negro families and states the agency's responsibility to *encourage* and assist local communities to meet the need. Federal policy is then said to be committed to coordination of the programs of Slum Clearance and Urban Rehabilitation, FHA and public housing. FHA is called upon to *encourage* production of new housing in vacant land available to middle-income Negro families, while local public and private lending and building agencies are prompted to meet their share of the responsibility. The only positive statement is that relating to relocation plans (specifically spelled out in the Housing Act of 1949).

EXTENDING SEGREGATION

We were recently told by the Housing and Home Finance Agency that the Johns Hopkins site provides for a number of new garden apartments for Negro occupancy, that careful consideration has been given to the relocation problem and that resulting plans would meet the requirements set forth in the Housing Act of 1949. Also, "Baltimore officials have assured us further that they are aware of the necessity to increase the supply of decent, safe and sanitary housing for minority groups and that they intend to carry out a program to this end." Such a proposal will certainly result in further extension of residential segregation, and on the Waverly site we must assume ,in light of the *Agency's silence* on the matter, that total Negro displacement is involved. As a matter of fact, in these instances, Title I is being used to facilitate space swapping which enables a local community to remove Negroes from certain areas and concentrate them in others. This is happening 35 years after the Supreme Court ruled that racial zoning was unconstitutional and 3 years after the same court outlawed judicial enforcement of racial restrictive housing covenants.

As recently as April 23, 1952, the Housing and Home Finance Agency announced a temporary loan and a capital grant to Detroit designed to facilitate its clearance and redevelopment of a project under Title I. The area had a population of 7,406 persons, some of whom have already been relocated. While there is no reference to the racial occupancy pattern planned under redevelopment, the conditions set forth for approval indicate that present occupants are non-white. Following the Chicago approach, the Housing and Home Finance Agency states, "The objective of these conditions is to assure full utilization of all Federal aid to

both public and private redevelopment activities wherever necessary in order to make a decisive contribution to improved living conditions with increased living space for the Negro population which largely occupies the area to be cleared."

VACANT SITES

In the current situation this is sending a child to do a man's work. Encouragement and assistance to private builders has not and will not produce new housing for minorities on vacant sites. Even with the additional pressure of racially designated priorities in World War II, results were meagre. Since priorities have no longer been necessary, FHA has again failed to include non-whites to any appreciable degree.

It is time that we put to rest the fiction that FHA is a pure business proposition to insure lenders against loss for an adequate premium. One has only to inspect the slip-shod construction of FHA-insured war housing and look into the watered values often accepted by the agency to realize that the actuarial formula was non-operative during those years. A similar development can be anticipated in much of the defense housing now proposed. It is the vast credit of the United States' government which supports FHA insurance. Even if part of the mortgage insurance were supported by adequate premiums, a drastic decline in real estate values would involve widespread foreclosures, threatening the whole mortgage structure. It is unthinkable that FHA would or could remain actuarially pure in such an event. It would require enormous federal subsidy—a cost borne by all taxpayers — to preserve our financial edifice. And such a subsidy would be forthcoming.

Then, too, FHA operations offer to those who purchase an FHA-insured mortgaged house many financial and development advantages. It is clearly contrary to our principles of government that any group of citizens, because of color, should be denied such advantages.

All of this adds up to the fact that solutions cannot be talked into being. There is a fundamnetal question of Federal responsibility. In light of the severe shortage of shelter and land space for non-whites in most American cities, it is contrary to public policy and inconsistent with the spirit of the Housing Act of 1949 for Federal funds to be used to reduce the supply of shelter. It is equally contrary to public policy to permit federal funds' being used to provide sites for new housing for the exclusive use of any racial or ethnic group in the nation.

RACIAL GHETTOS

We deplore the current sanctioning of racial ghettos in a positive way by the Federal Government; the underwriting of racially exclusive developments with Federal funds; the forcing of non-whites into a discriminated housing market, while facilitating a sizeable supply of new housing for whites only; the official filtering down of minorities into high cost, second-hand housing with all the financing inpediments described above and the discriminatory dispersing of FHA aids.

(*Continued on page* 402)

■ How Europe received one of America's leading conductors

Dean Dixon — Musical Ambassador

By Gladys P. Graham

A PASSIONATE love for music, a sense of perfect intonation, an unremitting and indefatigible desire to disseminate American and local culture is the musical saga of Dean Dixon, whose brown fingers have conducted the leading symphonic aggregations abroad. A rare migratory bird, he is no longer known as Dean Dixon the American Negro conductor, but Conductor Dixon the Magnificent.

This Harlemite left his native land some three years ago at the invitation of Radiodiffusion Française. His successful conducting of this invitational series garnered further concert engagements for Mr. Dixon with the major symphony orchestras in France, Italy, Belgium, Austria, Israel, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and other non-iron-curtain countries.

A sensitive, gifted musician his interpretation of Brahms, Beethoven, and Sibelius, among other classicists, has brought unprecedented fame and honor to the thirty-seven year old conductor from Europe's sternest critics and publicists.

The ambassador without protocol, as an aspect of international understanding and cultural exchange, plans to continue and increase the amount of American music which he presents to European audiences. To date the Negro maestro has presented the first performances anywhere of over thirty contemporary works, including the composition of the brilliant Negro artist Ulysses Kay; given European *premières* of over fifty works of American composers and the first performances of dozens of other works of composers unknown in America. Nor did Dixon forget the few recognized Negro works: Howard Swanson's *Short Symphony*, Kay's *Songs For Strings*, *Suite For Orchestra*, and *Dance Calinda* thrilled Europeans. Studying at the Rome Academy in Italy on a Guggenheim Fellowship, Ulysses Kay, on Dean Dixon's invitation, was in the audience at Turin, Italy,

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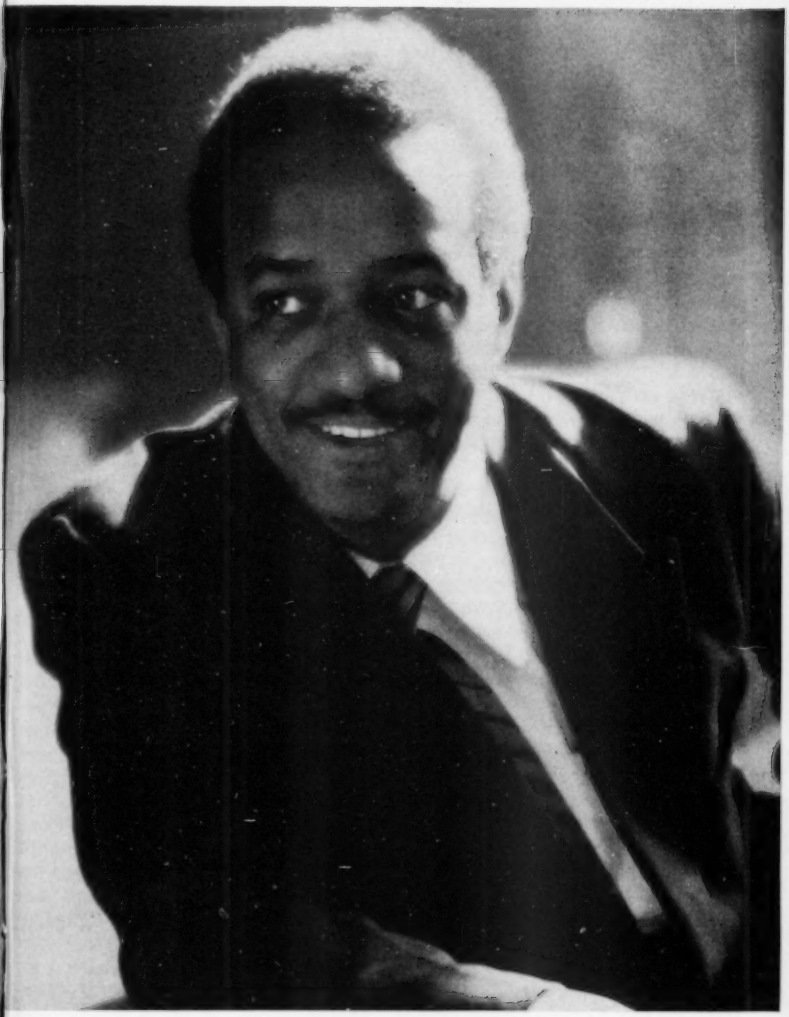
GLADYS P. GRAHAM has contributed to numerous magazines and newspapers and done extensive research on Africa and its people.



DEAN DIXON

when his *Suite For Orchestra* was played, creating a mild sensation with the musicians and the audience.

SIBELIUS SALUTES

On a personal level one of the highlights of Dean Dixon's concertizing and conducting abroad, according to his observation, was the enthusiasm exhibited by the 87-year-old Jan Sibelius, noted Finnish composer, considered one of the greatest names in modern music. He heard Dixon in his native Helsinki. Sibelius not only telephoned the Negro youth from America, congratulating him on his magnificent presentation in his initial concert, but requested that on his return trip he do a Sibelius symphony. For his next concert season in Helsinki Conductor Dixon carried out the command performance. He played Sibelius's famed *Fifth Symphony*. Whereupon Sibelius, in an unprecedented move, invited the Negro from Harlem to spend an afternoon at his home for tea and to talk music and musicians. Dixon considers the two-hour session with Sibelius one of the highest and most delightful points of his short musical career. Indeed, Mr. Dixon was again invited to be the guest conductor at the second annual Sibelius Festival to be held in Helsinki in June 1952.

To add to the history making stint with composer Sibelius, the Helsinki State Orchestra drew up a petition to their board of directors, requesting Dean Dixon (without qualification) to become their permanent conductor.

Other symphonic musicians have taken similar steps which would keep Dixon in Europe forever as far as their music tastes and commitments are concerned. The Goteborg Symphony Orchestra has invited Dixon to be one of their three permanent conductors, an invitation which he has already accepted. The Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra has also made its bid for Dixon conductorship, and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra has requested the Negro batonists to take them on a grand tour through Germany, Greece, and Turkey. This New Yorker is the only musical conductor (black or white) from America who has received yearly invitations to conduct the major Paris orchestras.

RECORDING SESSIONS

During the past season in Europe, this soft-voiced and restrained musical genius presented eighty performances of forty-seven compositions by twenty-eight American composers. Fourteen major works were recorded with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra, one of the finest recording groups in Europe. Mr. Dixon holds two collegiate degrees. A B.S. degree from the Institute of Musical Art of the Juilliard School of Music, an M.A. degree from Columbia University, and he has met all requirements for the doctorate except his dissertation. Dean Dixon had the distinction of holding the Juilliard Fellowship in conducting (studying with Albert Stoessel) for three years; he held a Rosenwald Fellowship for two years.

His awards for human relations in music are legion; among them are the Alice M. Ditson $1,000 Award (Dixon is the only Negro to date to

receive it) from Columbia University; Lincoln Steffens Award "in recognition for outstanding musicianship and intense effort for serious music," including the organization of an interracial youth orchestra; The National Association For American Composers and Conductors Award of Merit; and the Newspaper Guild Page One Award.

Unselfish and keenly interested in the cause of youth and the elmination of all forms of bias, Dixon founded the American Youth Orchestra composed of young white and Negro teen-age musicians. During his short stay in Paris he has already founded the International Youth Orchestra and the American International Orchestra of Paris.

During his short sojourn in America, to which he returned to secure a publisher for his biography, being written by the well known authoress and translator for his children's musical series in Finland, Mary Mandelin, he was on the move and alert to opportunities offered him. He has been signed to a five year contract to record exclusively for Westminster (long playing records) Company, recent winners of the coveted *Grand Prix Du Disque*. Numerous concert albums were also recorded under the label of The American Recording Society with home offices in New York.

AMERICAN JIM CROW

The artist Dean Dixon, who made his musical debut as a violinist and who is compared with Nikisch, the grandfather of conductors, for his clarity and interpretation of both American and European composers, met not one iota of prejudice from musicians in Europe. They all respected him as a musician and as a man. However, he is still an American. His pigmentation has not faded and he is definitely identifiable as Negro. Thus he has problems particularly in the financial realm.

Dixon finds with all his European fame and recognition that the money he is earning there does not sustain him. The combination of factors of the great distances between the cities to which he must go to perform, the still insufficient number of concerts, and the low fees which he receives as an American conductor starting his European career are appalling. The financial picture is further complicated by the fact that he has his artist wife, the pianist Vivian Rivkin-Dixon, and his four-year-old daughter to support. Added to this economic pressure is the fact that Dean Dixon is an American Negro of humble birth. Conductors from the world over are able to shuttle back and forth between their countries and Mr. Dixon's native United States to conduct in order to make ends meet. Yet America is still disinclined to give Dean Dixon this courtesy or to accept him as a full-fledged symphony conductor, without qualification, as Europe has.

Be that as it may, Dean Dixon does not despair. He has hope that better days lie ahead and that interested friends will not forget his struggles. Upon his return to Europe in June he presented an all-Negro program of symphonic music in Scandinavia: William Grant Still's *Old California*, Swanson's *Short*

(*Continued on page* 402)

Good News

The merging of two San Francisco Presbyterian congregations — one white, the other Negro — into one church under a Negro pastor. The sixty parishioners of the Hope Presbyterian church, white, joined with the forty members of the Westminister Presbyterian church.

★ ★ ★

Kelly Miller of Washington, D. C., has been promoted to assistant art director at Huber Hoge and Sons, a New York City advertising firm.

★ ★ ★

Two Philadelphians, Robert A. Evans and Edward Bell, are the first Negroes ever chosen for membership in the Sphinx Senior Society of the University of Pennsylvania. Evans, first Negro football captain at the university, was named chief of the honor society.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, who was an alternate U. S. representative to the Fifth Session of the UN General Assembly, has been named to the National Commission for UNESCO.

★ ★ ★

Edward Hall, a Howard University student, shared starring honors with Boris Karloff in CBS, radio production of Sutton Vane's hit play, *Outward Bound*, on June 1.

★ ★ ★

Judge Harold A. Stevens of the New York Court of General Sessions is new president of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York City.

★ ★ ★

Dr. Roland B. Scott of Washington, D. C., is the first Negro member of the American Pediatric Society, a 62-year-old organization of top-ranking children's doctors. This is the highest national honor in pediatrics.

★ ★ ★

Sterling Preston Tignor, Jr., of Washington, D. C., a pre-medical junior at Yale University, was named winner of the $400 John C. Schroeder Award at Yale. The award, established in 1949 and named for Prof. John C. Schroeder, master of Calhoun College, is given annually to the student who gives promise to "find his place and play his part in the world."

The new vice-president of the Medical Society of the County of New York is Dr. Peter M. Murray, director of obstetrics and gynecology at Sydenham Hospital, New York City. Dr. Murray is the first Negro to be named to his post in the largest component unit of the American Medical Association.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. William O. Gardiner of Stratford, Connecticut, is the newly elected president of the Connecticut Council of Church Women. Mrs. Gardiner was formerly the council's first vice-president.

★ ★ ★

Rupert A. Lloyd, formerly of Phoebus, Virginia, has been promoted from second to first secretary of the American Embassy in Paris, France. Mr. Lloyd is well qualified for his position, having studied for several years at the University of Bordeaux and the Sorbonne.

DES MOINES CAMPAIGN WORKERS—*These men and women were active in the* 1952 *membership campaign of the Des Moines, Iowa, NAACP branch. First row, from left, Mrs. Guy Greene, assistant secretary; James Morris, Jr., treasurer; William Bell, president; Mrs. Adam Johnson, Jr., membership chairman; Ike Small, vice-president national board; Mrs. Herschel Hubbard, secretary; second row, Atty. James Morris, Sr., Mrs. Alta Coleman, Mrs. Catherine Atkinson, Leona Wesley, Merelene Miller, Mrs. James Morris, Sr., Mrs. Helen Neff, Leland Ahern, vice-president; Mrs. Dorothy Sims, Mrs. Charles Strange, Yvonne Smith, Mrs. Alice Holbert, Mrs. Annabelle Blaney, A. P. Trotter; third row, Mrs. Harold Morrow, Mary Smith, Mrs. Jane DeVan, Beverly Oliver, Mrs. Virgil Dixon, Mrs. Gwendolyn Fowler, Mrs. Dorthera Harrison, Mrs. Mabel Spencer, Mrs. Adam Johnson, Sr., Mrs. Alberta Williams, Mrs. Robert Wright, Mrs. A. A. Alexander, Mrs. Clifford Bayles, and Adam Johnson, Jr.*

The Daily Dispatch

GENESEO QUEEN—*Geneseo, Illinois, high school senior Jeannie Wheatley reigned as queen at the 18th Geneseo night relays. She awarded ribbons, medals, and the first place trophy at the end of the event. From left, the court of beauty included Jean Anderson, Carol Beachler, Jeannie Wheatley, Norma Jean Wirth, and Pat Smith. Geneseo is 30 miles from Moline, Ill., and only two colored families live in the city. Some difference between Geneseo and Cicero! Miss Wheatley received all her education in the Geneseo schools, is a member of the National Honor Society, received her school's English award, and is a member of the youth council of the Tri Cities' Illinois branch of the NAACP.*

■ Sketch of a Nigerian patriot with a vision for humanity

Torchbearer of Nigeria

By Tracy D. Mygatt

BLESSED are the torchbearers! Across storm-tossed seas, out of many lands, down the centuries they have come to us. And whether it is a Moses commanding a dictator "Let my people go!" or a George Washington Carver raising the lowly peanut from ridicule to nourishment for millions, they have brought new light and hope. Even today, in a period so dark that many are tempted to despair, here and there a victorious soul comes forward holding high the torch in what the poet Heine called "the liberation-war of humanity." Such a man is Dr. Eyo Ita of Nigeria, patriot, educator, and world federalist.

He is indeed a patriot. For in him burns a passionate love of his native land. In one of his brochures, *Sterile Truths and Fertile Lies* (1950) he stirringly pleads the case for a National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons "for the redemption of West Africa." Nearly two decades ago he dreamed of this, in his little room at International House, New York, when he was pursuing his studies at Columbia. Like Casely-Hayford back in 1919, Ita, too, dreams of a Nigerian Youth Movement, fifty million strong, "marching as an inspired team." And beyond this, he dreams of freedom achieved at long last for the whole of "Mother Africa."

Many would have stopped their dreaming there. Not so Eyo Ita. From early manhood, beyond the educational achievements won at such cost for himself and his people, his mind was busy with greater plans —and for the whole world. Never under-estimating freedom and independence, he came to know that countless nations have won these, and perished none the less, because ignorant or forgetful of the necessity for *inter-dependence*.

Thus by 1947, inspired by federalist writings, he was seeing beyond the goal of a united West Africa, beyond freedom for Africa herself, the crying need of "One World" under world law. And just as he still pleads with Yoruba, Efik, Ibo and the rest, to transcend the old limiting tribal barriers and win a free Nigeria, so, last December he went as delegate to the Peoples World Convention in

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TRACY D. MYGATT *is the New York Secretary of the Campaign for World Government, with which she has been connected since its founding.*

Geneva, a torch-bearer for all mankind, to plead the cause of World Government.

EARLY YEARS

Eyo Ita was born in Calabar "about"—for these were the days before vital statistics—1899. Thus from the first the boy had a better chance than if he had been born in the bush. There was his inspiring British teacher, F. E. Jones, later to become an enthusiastic associate. Already, over and above the schools founded by the early missionaries, to whose heroism this Christian pays high tribute, native African schools and institutes had been started by such pioneers as the Rev. Mr. Euba, Mr. Ikoku, and Prof. Oyerinde. For the African, as Dr. Ita writes in *A Decade of National Education Movement*, "has arrived at last, determined to take his place as an educational missionary in his own homeland."

This education for the liberation of his people ". . . must teach them . . . to think abundantly, and it must help them to live creatively. . . . It must make them creators, efficient producers and not mere parasitic consumers." We could do with more of such an attitude in our own U.S.

Aware that for him to educate his people properly, advanced study in England and the United States was essential, Ita set out for Europe in the late '20's. He won his Bachelor of Arts from the University of London in 1931. New York followed, and he attained a Bachelor of Science from Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1932; his Master of Arts from the same college in '33. It was in New York that he found inspiration in his fellow-Nigerian, Dr. Azikiwe, later to become a staunch supporter, now eminent in the Peoples Congress Against Imperialism.

Now, trained for his work, Ita was ready to return to the great "Mother" he was sworn to liberate by the liberation of her sons. In '38 he founded the co-educational National Institute in Esien Town, Calabar, in what he describes as "a leopard-haunted area." There, in a half-thatched, half-mud little building, minus door and windows, with a modest ten pupils, he began alone the work that in a decade was to educate 2,000. Neither leopards nor hard work daunted him. He knew he would be joined by others. And presently they came, and better buildings went up. H. E. Archibong, whom he calls "an eternal sunshine," was his first colleague. And soon afterward, Benjamin Ipekewe Ekaluo, "a brilliant youth," joined him at the Institute. Thence, after seven years, Ekaluo went on to Atlanta, then to Iowa State College for his doctorate, always with the goal of further native education in mind. Meanwhile, students from the tribes of Ibo, Yoruba, Opobo, and Efik, had hastened to the fast developing Institute, thus early constituting what Eyo Ita, thinking back in New York, loosely calls an "International House."

DISASTER STRIKES

Huge crowds from unions and clubs all over Nigeria came to the opening of the enlarged buildings, demonstrating the "deep hunger" of all for native African education.

Early and late the pioneer work of clearing the ground and freeing the mind went forward.

Then in '43 came the disaster so frequent among schools—fire. Most tragic of all, sabotage and destruction by those who misconceived the Institute's purpose were responsible. School farms were burnt, school springs destroyed, nearly all of the ten buildings burnt to ashes. But we are dealing with a man who refuses to give up. And with a fine enthusiasm and loyalty to the National Education purpose, new self-sacrifice on the part of many (even in the form of money from Nigerians then in England) raised a larger structure on Diamond Hill, Calabar — the West African Peoples Institute.

Here, with true dedication, the faculty taught in the morning and built with cement blocks and mortar all afternoon. Other colleges have followed in swift succession: Ibibio State College, Kalabari National, Ibo National Education Scheme, and the challenging Ogbomosho Peoples Institute, headed by the Hon. N. D. Oyerinde, in all of which Eyo Ita has been the moving, dauntless spirit. As he writes in the booklet printed at the W.A.P.I. press: "This is a period of great gestation. . . . The future of education in Nigeria belongs to the education of Africans by Africans through African-owned schools and colleges."

Through those early trials and successes, Dr. Ita's wife, Nkoyo, has always been a true helpmate. At the W.A.P.I. she teaches English, language and literature, and encourages the girls to express themselves through African costume, music, and language. Her sister, Ano Antigha, "a most precious jewel in the Institute family," after ten years of study and teaching in Nigeria, has gone to Bethune-Cookman to prepare herself for the emancipation of African womanhood. It is a charming and intelligent face which smiles out from her photograph.

Remembering the desperate poverty of the tribesmen, fees are kept very low, and there have even been scholarships, the latter given, of course, wholly without tribal discrimination. Agriculture and industrial arts are emphasized, boys and girls going to nearby villages to lead in farm demonstration, improvement of water-supply, and so on. Though Nigeria is a rural land, Dr. Ita is well aware that Nigeria, too, lives in a technological age. Hence, besides the teaching of trades, the Institute has a large Science Hall, with as much apparatus as finances permit. Courses are supplemented by movies.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

Debates and effective public speaking are carried on, since these students must become apostles of the new, envisaged freedom. As the founder writes, "Ours is the most significant task of producing a democracy by making democrats." As might be expected, there is considerable self-government among the students. And always there is outstanding character-building, aided by the non-denominational services in the Chapel, and by the deep Christianity of Dr. Ita himself. As he has written:

Nigerians must now become not bitter waters, but the salt of the earth.

We must make one another great if we want a great nation.

. . . We must be more than noisy billows, breaking ourselves upon hard shores. We must be deep oceans capable of interior calms that cannot be disturbed. We cannot bear magnificent storms and great weights that we shall be called upon to carry, unless we have immense spiritual depths. We need strength that is more than mortal. . . .

On the cultural side, profoundly cherished by him (for in culture he finds the key to social emancipation) plays are written and produced. Music is an important feature, and W.A.P.I. has a piano, a large harmonium, flutes, and a violin. Singing, one of the especially glorious arts of the Negro, is no small part of the curriculum.

But the foregoing description of Professor Ita's work in national education is only half the story of his contribution to human welfare. For we are dealing here with no mere schoolroom pedagogue. Far horizons had always beckoned. And it is time to tell of his torchbearing for World Government and the lasting peace of our now sorely menaced planet.

In common with federalists the world over, Eyo Ita believes that the present unlimited national sovereignty, the complete independence of the nation-states upon which the old League of Nations was based, and which by the insistence of those who met at San Francisco in 1945, our own U.S. delegates among them, was perpetuated in the United Nations Charter, is a menace to world peace. For such unlimited sovereignty is in effect inter-nation anarchy. Federalists point out that on all the lower levels of society we have law: in city, state, and nation. Only on the top level, the danger level, that of relations between nations, is there no law but mere consultation and voluntary agreement, often broken.

WORLD GOVERNMENT

For the safety of all mankind a constitution of world federal government must be drafted, creating a world legislature. This will be made up of popularly elected delegates from each member-nation. It will enact laws for the benefit of *all* rather than a favored *few*. A world court with compulsory jurisdiction will interpret these laws. and a world police will enforce them upon the guilty individual (as in our own U.S. federal pattern) instead of upon the member-state—which is war, and punishes the innocent with the guilty. National armament on today's gigantic scale will thus be rendered obsolete, and nations will be freed of their present intolerable burden of defense and war-preparedness. The money saved can then feed the starving children of men.

How to attain this world government? Two methods: either through basic revision of the UN Charter through the review conference provided for in Article 109; or through a Peoples World Convention of democratically elected representatives, with subsequent ratification by the governments of the world. It is in the latter method, the Peoples World Convention, that Dr. Ita most believes. I quote from a paragraph of his recent letter to me which shows how he approaches the federalist belief:

It was my impression of the failings of the League of Nations in 1931 . . .

that first led me to the conclusion that the peoples of the world would have to elect their representatives directly to a world parliament to seek the broad vital human interests of equal justice, peace, health and communication, in order to create order out of chaos in the new world community. . . . When in 1947 and 1948 I started receiving papers from the American and British Federalists on World Government Movement I was happy to discover that such serious-minded leaders as Dr. A. Einstein, Lord Boyd Orr and Beveridge were thinking the same way I did, and were doing something about it.

Therefore, when the call went out for that first small but historic meeting of the Peoples World Convention at the end of 1950, Dr. Ita, who had already widely preached world government, set out anew through Nigerian cities and across the jungle, into the villages, to gather from the tribal chiefs their mandates for him to go as delegates to Geneva.

I shall never forget the moment, months later, when Fyke Farmer, white attorney of Tennessee, one of the state's elected delegates to the Convention of which he himself was the spearhead, put into my hands those worn mandates representing the will of several millions, straight out of "Mother Africa." It was on a Saturday noon in New York. And at the same moment, shattering the city's quiet, came the air-raid warning, a pandemonium of sirens reminding us all that the world's peace is in jeopardy, that atomic war can break out at any moment.

SELFLESS LABOR

It was a moment for prayer. And I did pray. For hope and menace matched each other in that moment. Hope that the selfless labor of such men as Fyke Farmer and Eyo Ita might be rewarded, and the menace of illimitable catastrophe be averted. Certainly some of the hope inherent in the whole situation lies in the fact of the warm comradeship between Mr. Farmer and the brilliant African patriot, educator and federalist.

"If he and I could go round the world together!" exclaimed Mr. Farmer to me later. And his eloquent hands sketched the aid these two might bring to the peace of our torn earth. And truly, as both men know so well, more than anything else under heaven, our world needs that sense of brotherhood.

Beyond question the most dramatic moment of the Geneva Convention was, when addressing the packed auditorium with its hundreds of men and women there gathered from some thirty countries as the assisting "Consultative Assembly," Fyke Farmer asked if there were any other elected delegates present besides himself and Mr. Harwell, and the great Nigerian rose. He was clad in picturesque native garb, in his hands the precious mandates. A tumult of applause greeted him. Fyke Farmer beckoned him forward. And, welcomed with warm handclasps by the two white Southerners, he was seated on the rostrum.

True, Dr. Ita had not been popularly elected by his fellow Nigerians, since Nigeria is a British Protectorate, lacking popular suffrage. His credentials were for a time therefore questioned by certain officials. But the jury who sat upon his case, after discussion, accepted him as delegate

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LIFE MEMBERSHIP *Mrs. Esther Williams t... out a $500 life member... in the Kansas City, ... branch. From left, ... Johnson, president, ... Williams, and Rev. J. ... Exum.*

FUND DRIVE *of the Columbus, Ohio, NAACP branch opened in the office of Gov. Frank J. Lausche, who has just made a contribution. From left, Atty. John Francis, branch president; Mrs. Julia Brooks, holding branch petition for justice in Florida and Cicero; Atty. William Brooks; and retiring branch president Byron Slaughter.*

■ **Where eleven Greyhound stockholders stand in their fight against Greyhound jim crow**

Minority Stockholders vs. Jim Crow – Continued

By James Peck

THE June-July 1951 issue of *The Crisis* (p. 375) told the story of how Bayard Rustin and myself each bought a share of Greyhound in order to campaign at the stockholders meetings for abolition of jim crow seating on southern buses.

As a result of that story and of publicity elsewhere, 11 additional Greyhound stockholders in four states, owning a total of 280 shares, have joined the campaign. For this year's stockholders meeting at Wilmington, Delaware, they delegated Rustin and myself as their proxies.

Originally we had sought to have included on the printed agenda, which goes to all stockholders: "A recommendation that management consider the advisability of abolishing the segregated seating system in the South." But Greyhound ruled it was not a proper subject for action by the stockholders. The Securities & Exchange Commission upheld Greyhound, ruling that no social issue is a proper subject for action by the stockholders. Court action aimed at reversing the SEC proved of no avail.

So since we were unable to get the question on the printed agenda as a separate order of business, we decided to raise it under the first point on the agenda, the election of officers. The entire slate of officers nominated by the corporation was identical with that of the previous year. Following the nominations, Rustin took the floor to point out that he and myself together with the other stockholders for whom we held proxy statements could not support officers nominated by a management which refuses even to consider the jim crow seating issue.

This led off a discussion which took up 30 minutes of the 50-minute meeting with Rustin and myself on one side and Vice-President Robert Driscoll and President O. S. Caesar on the other.

At one point one of the seven other stockholders present asked

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JAMES PECK, *a militant foe of jim crow, lives in New York City.*

whether Rustin and I were inferring that Greyhound is acting illegally in segregating Negroes on interstate buses. Driscoll replied affirmatively but added that he disagrees with our interpretation of supreme court decisions on this matter. Rustin and I then pointed out that these decisions are so clearcut as not to be a matter of interpretation.

PASSENGERS JIM CROWED

Rustin thereupon suggested that the corporation issue a directive to all Greyhound drivers instructing them as to the law laid down by the Supreme Court. Driscoll responded that such a directive had already been issued. Rustin asked whether it is available to stockholders. Driscoll replied that it is not. Rustin said his reason for wanting to see it was to determine whether it was sufficiently clear, since Negro interstate passengers who do not sit in the rear seats are still being molested. He related how he, himself, was arrested in Texas only six weeks previous to the stockholders meeting for refusing to move to the rear (the case was dismissed). Driscoll rejected Rustin's proposal for issuing a directive. He said the corporation "cannot take sides" on the question.

Finally ballots were passed around. There was only one slate—management's—and no space in which to register a negative vote. Rustin and I abstained. When the results were announced, we expressed our reasons for doing so and asked that the abstention be recorded on behalf of us and of those whom we represented.

The meeting was well covered by both the Negro and daily press. The Philadelphia Tribune and Amsterdam News sent Wert Hooper, a photographer, who took pictures of the meeting—an unprecedented occurrence for Greyhound and an unusual event for any corporation stockholders meeting.

In conclusion, I should like to point out the futility of our attempts to get justice in this matter from the courts and from the SEC.

As I related in last year's *Crisis* article, when we took the case of getting the jim crow seating issue on the agenda before U.S. Judge Sylvester Ryan, he held that we could not come into court before first getting a formal opinion from the SEC. So this year our attorney, Conrad Lynn, took the case before the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals which ruled that the SEC is not required to issue a formal opinion. It was the end of a dead-end street as far as the courts are concerned.

STOCKHOLDER RIGHTS

As for the SEC, its alleged purpose is to protect the rights of stockholders. In effect, it works hand-in-glove with the big corporations. As I stated, in my case the SEC ruled that no social issue is a proper subject for action by stockholders. Since then the SEC has moved to make this ruling universal by means of an amendment to its proxy rules to "let managements turn down stockholder proposals of a general economic, political, racial or similar nature."

The issue, therefore, is much broader than segregation on Greyhound's southern buses. For example

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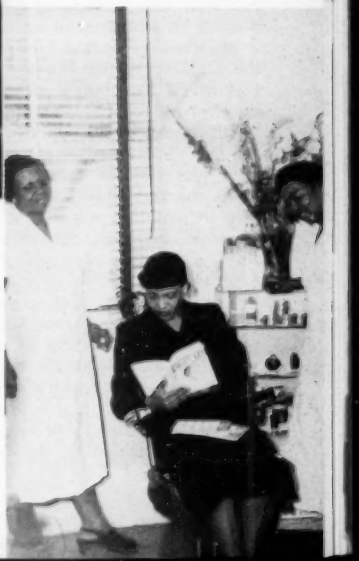
WEST COAST NAACP CONFERENCE—*Delegates in attendance at the annual conference of the northern California area at Asilomar, California, May* 17-18. MIDDLE: *Special activities committee of the Los Angeles branch pauses during its work to pose for photo.* BOTTOM: *This membership committee of the San Francisco branch went over its quota of* 1,000 *members.*



BOSTON BEAUTICIANS *boost NAACP membership drive in that city. From left, Mrs. Thelma Campbell, Mrs. Pearl Urback (reading Crisis), and Mrs. Veronica Collier of Thelma's Beauty Shop,* 476 *Massachusetts Avenue.*

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Looking and Listening . . .

NON-DISCRIMINATORY HIRING

THE May issue of *Spotlight on Civil Rights,* published by the Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights, reports the success of the nondiscriminatory hiring policies of the Hartford Connecticut Trust Company:

'Our policy of hiring employees on a non-discriminatory basis has worked out exceedingly well,' declared James A. S. Wallace, assistant treasurer of the Hartford Connecticut Trust Company. 'Not only have the Negroes we hired proved to be extremely good workers but their relationships with fellow employees have been excellent.'

Marcus D. Goodale, vice-president of the bank, stated that the key to the success of the company's policy has been in applying the same standards and qualifications to all applicants. 'By doing this,' Mr. Goodale pointed out, 'we have been able to draw from a larger labor market. This has permitted our firm to maintain a higher standard for employee selection, despite the general shortage of office personnel, than would otherwise be possible.'

The Hartford Connectiuct Trust Company now has five Negroes employed in various offices of the firm.

Another local bank, the Hartford National Bank and Trust Company, has similar practices of non-discrimination and now has about twenty Negroes in its employ, including the first Negro teller in the state, and others employed in various office positions.

HUMAN RELATIONS

ACCORDING to Arthur W. Wallander, chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, in a letter accompanying the 1951 annual report of the Committee to Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri, there has been a steady improvement in human relations in New York City. In summarizing the Committee's activities, the report states that "the committee has come of age in a world where prejudice, discrimination, and segregation still exist." But Mr. Wallander notes that such behavior patterns and attitudes are not accepted in New York City because they carry with them the stigma of social reproach.

The following are some of the activities of the Committee:

The Committee, during the past year, inaugurated a series of hearings which offer the opportunity to civic groups to report on the adequacy of city services in congested areas of their boroughs. City department officials attended these hearings as observers. Thus far the hearings have been held in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens. The findings will be analyzed and discussed with the head of city departments after which

a report will be submitted to the Mayor with the Committee's recommendations.

The Committee investigated complaints of discrimination against Negroes by the branches of the Brooklyn-Queens Young Men's Christian Association. Negotiations with the organization were successful in stimulating the fuller integration of Negroes into the membership and program.

An inquiry into a complaint regarding discrimination in the selling of automobile liability insurance to Negroes was completed during 1951. The Committee's interest in this situation has been helpful in bringing about clarification of the policies of the industry and methods of achieving a better understanding between the brokers handling this service and the insurance representatives.

The Mayor's Committee on Unity of New York City, which advises the mayor on New York City intergroup problems, is a non-political group made up of private citizens engaged in various fields of civic endeavor. It performs a watchdog role guarding against intergroup tensions and also strives to dissolve such tensions when they arise.

GROUP MISINTERPRETATIONS

THE interracial specialist who trusts the generalizations of *The Mark of Oppression*, by Drs. Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, for insights into group tensions is in for disappointment according to Charles W. Collins, a psychotherapist at the Lafargue Clinic in New York City. Writing in the May issue of the *Journal* of the National Medical Association, Dr. Collins criticizes the book as "a cruel and monumental fraud." Herewith is a summary of Dr. Collins' verdict:

The authors get lost in a web of alternate labored prose and lucid statement, of fact and wishful thinking, and a vigorous social criticism and naive analytical distortion. A more accurate title would be 'What Me and Ovesey, at al, think about 14 million Negroes as a result of naively accepting as true what 25 Negroes say they think about themselves.'

Kardiner and Ovesey collate the analyses of 25 Negroes, divided for their purposes into two classes—lower and middle upper—and eight skin colors, and find evidence of a basic Negro personality with is a 'caricature' of the corresponding white personality.

A major fault with this study is the indiscriminate use of the definite article. The authors' unsound generalizations are the antitheses of scientific inquiry. With no controls and so much uncertainty regarding the experimental group, this psychosocial study becomes as accurate and/or as useful as that of a florist who measures the complex odors of a greenhouse with a crooked yardstick in order to determine the price of a corsage.

To the long list of slave traders, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, physicians, and psychologists [states Dr. Collins] who have studied the American Negro and misinterpreted his 'differences' from whites, may be added now the psychiatrists.

"UNTOUCHABLES"

THE Indian Republic is making special efforts to raise the economic and educational level of the Harijans or "Untouchables." All government jobs are made available to them, and a certain percentage is reserved for them. They are being provided with economic opportunities and given facilities to organize co-

operative societies, with allotments of land for cultivation. Harijan students who are unable to afford the cost of higher education are given scholarships and stipends.

Under India's five-year (1951-56) development plan, the government has earmarked more than thirty-seven million dollars for uplift of the Harijans and other less developed classes. The Harijans today have a stronger voice in the administration of the country. In the national elections, just completed, they exercised their voting right, and there are now 72 Harijan members in the House of the People (lower house of Parliament) and 477 in the state assemblies. One Harijan, Jagjiwan Ram, holds the cabinet post of communications minister of the government of India.

DISCRIMINATION IN AFRICA

CAHIER 13 of *Présence Africaine* (Paris, France), an issue devoted to labor in Negro Africa, remarks the growing racial discrimination in French Africa:

The increase in acts of discrimination against African natives in certain restaurants and clubs is obvious proof of increasing racism in territories of the French Union. In the Cameroons, Guillaume Hondt was ejected from a club in Edea by the manager, with the excuse that only Europeans were admitted. The truth is that most clubs in French colonial cities, even though their rules are silent on the admission of African natives, tacitly admit only whites and politely but firmly bar Africans.

Councilor of the Republic Alioune Diop [also managing editor of *Présence Africaine*] was barred from a hotel in Douala upon special request of the local authorities because of his color. Certain articles for sale in the local stores cannot be bought by Africans, their sale being reserved to Europeans.

In Ubangui-Shari, local deputy Abbé Boganda was barred from hotels in Bangui, the capital, because of his race. The restaurateur in one of these hotels once refused to serve André Tollet, secretary of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), because he was accompanied by African secretaries from the local unions.

It is a widely known fact that when a punitive expedition of colonials broke up a private labor-union meeting at which our comrade Carroué, seceretary-general of the Federation of Agriculture and councilor of the French Union, was assaulted the police commissioner of Poto-Poto refused to make any arrests. This was his defense: 'You can't expect our black police to go around arresting white people!'

FORCED LABOR

THIS same issue of *Présence Africaine* mentions particularly the question of forced labor in Africa:

At Ngaundere in the Cameroons, administrator Granier used the police to recruit highway and timberworkers for a three months' minimum period. As a matter of fact, these workers were freed only upon the arrival of another work gang which had been recruited in much the same fashion. Official explanation? The men were working out their road-tax.

On April 22, 1949, the chief of division, at Mbanga in the country of the Bamiliké, issued the following work order:

'All Bamiliké section chiefs are asked to be present at the subdivision of Mbanga on Wednesday, April 27, 1949, at 8:00 A. M. sharp, accompanied by

the laborers requested of them on March 17, 1949.'

This order listed the twenty section chiefs and the places where the sixty requisitioned men were to report.

At Esseka (Cameroons), administrator Féral used armed guards in September 1947 to round up villagers who, with ropes around their necks, were forced to spend the night on the bare ground in a guarded hut. They were taken out to work the next day. When a labor-union delegation questioned administrator Féral's conduct, he explained that he had been acting on orders from high commissioner Hoffner of the Cameroons.

Administrators Sanmarco and Lambezat, at Amban Sangmelina in the Cameroons, also rounded up workers for forced labor. When Abanok, secretary of the agricultural union, protested against this high-handedness, he was threatened with criminal action. Every frontiersman who wants a passport for Spanish Guinea must first put in some unpaid time at timber extraction for the subdivision chief. Until the summer of 1948 there were two forced labor camps at Richard Toll and the Cape Verde peninsula in Senegal, but the General Council of Senegal abolished them in July 1948. At the village of Mandja de Bangui, in 1949, while the men (house servants and cooks) were working their women were being requisitioned for forced labor.

This report comes from deputy Ouezzin Coulibaly of the Ivory Coast:

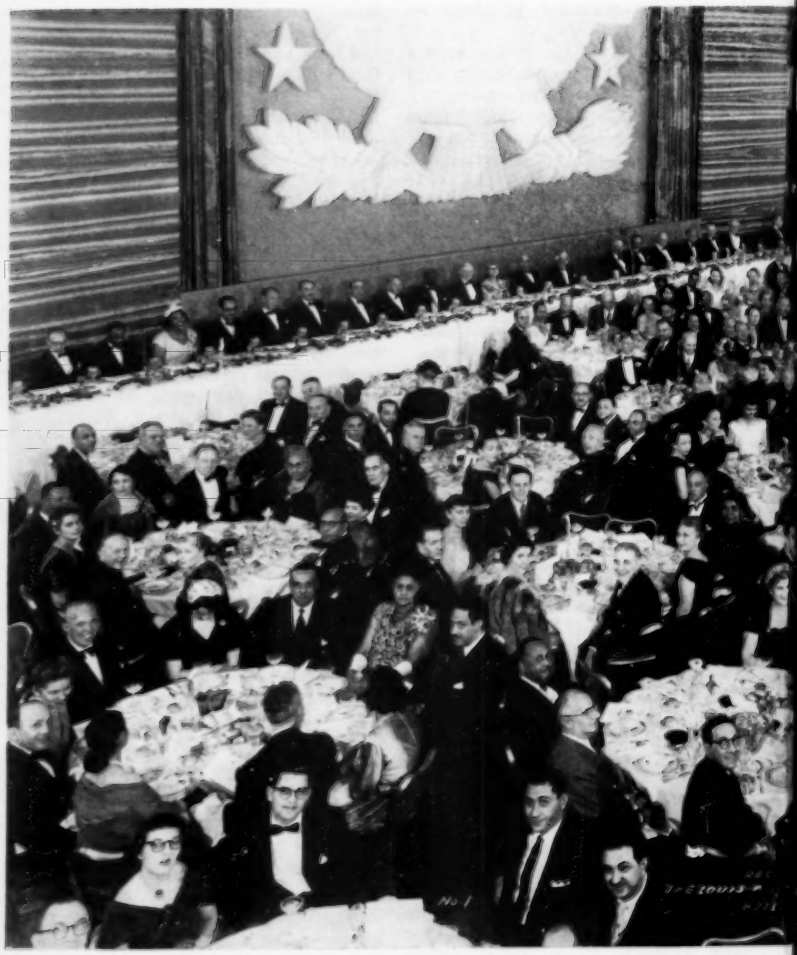
'On November 10, 1946, I was passing through Kaya on my way to Dori when I ran into a road gang on the Wagadougou-Dori highway digging up the earth and carting it away on their heads in the traditional baskets. When questioned they explained that they had been recruited from the villages by their chiefs, that they were not volunteer workers, that they were working for the commandant, and that they did not know whether they would be paid or not. When I explained that forced labor had been abolished, they replied that in their villages nothing had changed. And farther on I learned that administrator Léo was sending all *chefs de canton* orders of this general tenor: You are asked to send workers to Léo; but since this work is in the public interest, the workers will not be paid.'

A work code for Negro Africa has been under study for several years, one designed to replace Minister Marius Motet's decree [October 18, 1947], which was arbitrarily suspended. But for several years now the government has, by shuffling plans and counter proposals and making requests for advice, delayed enactment of a code which, whatever its nature, would be an improvement over the *status quo*. Although the latest plan prohibits forced labor in principle, it faces crippling amendments. And, judging by the examples just cited, there is considerable doubt that the principle of forced labor is going to be abolished. Furthermore, racial discrimination and forced labor are now combined in the use of conscripts for work declared to be in the public interest. In principle this means the abolition of forced labor, but in practice it means that high officials now get their cheap labor from the military authorities.

CONGO CIRCUS

MRS. CLIFFORD MOORE of Trenton, New Jersey, sends us an Associated Press dispatch with a Brussels, Belgium, dateline telling how Alphonse de Jonghe and his three brothers are going to give the Belgium Congo its first circus. Naturally the Belgian government, as one of the most efficient exploiters of African labor, did not take very

(*Continued on page* 403)



DR. LOUIS T. WRIGHT DINNER—*Pictured here are some of the more than 1,(* wh*
Statler, New York City, April 30, to honor the famous surgeon and foe of segregation* fi*
Aaron Prigot, president of the Harlem Surgical Society, presented Dr. Wright with* s*
co-chairman of the dinner committee, presented a portrait of Dr. Wright's E*
(Turn to *nd*

who attended the Dr. Louis T. Wright reception and dinner given at the Hotel for the funds for the Louis T. Wright Library at Harlem Hospital, New York City. Dr. with on set on behalf of the resident surgeons, past and present. Dr. Aubrey D. Maynard, right is E. Alston. Musical numbers were rendered by Carol Brice, contralto.
to and 377)

Dr. Wright Honored

MORE than 1,000 persons from all walks of life heard a dozen speakers extol Dr. Louis T. Wright as scientist and humanitarian at a dinner in the Hotel Statler, New York City, on Wednesday night, April 30.

Leading the array of speakers who gathered to honor the famous surgeon and to inaugurate the Louis T. Wright library of Harlem hospital was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who paid tribute to his valiant fight against segregation in medicine and in other fields. Citing his contributions as surgical director of Harlem hospital and as chairman of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mrs. Roosevelt said that military might and economic power are not enough to win the struggle against communism. We need spiritual resources as well, she said, and these we may gain through making democracy a reality to every American.

In response to the many tributes paid him, Dr. Wright declared that he could "honestly accept them only on behalf of and for the staff of Harlem hospital." This institution, to which he has devoted 33 years of service, Dr. Wright said, "represents the finest example of democracy at work in the field of medicine. Its policy of complete integration throughout the institution has stood the test of time, having now been in practice for over 20 years."

Of the NAACP, which he has served as chairman of the board since 1934, Dr. Wright said its activities "have done as much as those of any organization to uphold the moral and spiritual leadership of America in world affairs." The Association, he asserted, "has cooperated actively and unequivocally with all organizations genuinely interested in promoting these ends and has thus aided the total health of all Americans."

Others who joined in honoring Dr. Wright included his life-long friend, Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, who was toastmaster; Mayor Vincent Impellitteri; Dr. Henry W. Cave, former president, American College of Surgeons, and co-chairman with Dr. Ralph J. Bunche of the sponsoring committee for the dinner; Elmer A. Carter, member, New York State Commission Against Discrimination; Arthur B. Spingarn, president, NAACP; Dr. W. Montague Cobb, professor of anatomy, Howard Medical College; Dr. Robert H. Kennedy, vice-president, ACS; Dr. Marcus D. Kogel, New York City Commissioner of Hospitals; Judge William H. Hastie, United States Circuit Court of Appeals; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, executive director, Phelps-Stokes Fund; and Dr. George Packer Berry, dean of the Harvard Medical College, from which Dr. Wright was graduated.

Layne's Studio

DR. AND MRS. LOUIS T. WRIGHT *smile at one of Dr. Robert H. Kennedy's quips during the Dr. Louis T. Wright dinner in the Hotel Statler, New York City, on April 30. Dr. Kennedy is vice-president of the American College of Surgeons. From left, Dr. Robert H. Kennedy, Mrs. Louis T. Wright, and Dr. Louis T. Wright.* BELOW: *Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt congratulating Dr. Wright for his valiant fight against segregation in American life.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

SUFFRAGE

Mississippi Registrar: How many bubbles in a bar of soap?

What is due process of law?

If you can't answer these questions, you can't vote in Hattiesburg, Miss. That is, if you are a Negro.

These and similar questions have been asked Negroes attempting to register in that state, according to affidavits of nine Negro citizens which have been transmitted to the Department of Justice through Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the Association.

In affidavits three women and six men assert that on April 11 when they sought to register they were told by two white women employees of the registrar of voters "that they could not register us but we would have to come back when Mr. Cox, the registrar and county clerk, was there." However, they allege, the women registrars "on other occasions, have been observed registering persons of the white race but never registering persons of the Negro race."

The rejected citizens assert that they have all of the qualifications required by law and were denied the right to register solely because of their race and color. The action of the registrar and his deputies, they declare, "is in violation of the Constitution of the State of Mississippi and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution."

In submitting these affidavits to the Department of Justice, Mr. Marshall asked for "an immediate investigation of these complaints and the necessary definitive action to insure the protection of the right of qualified Negro electors to register and vote in the State of Mississippi."

Such questions as "How many bubbles in a bar of soap?" and "What is due process of law?" are "obviously questions which have the sole purpose of disqualifying the applicant." They are "neither humorous or valid." "They merely stress the point of how ridiculous and callous these state officers are in performing their governmental functions with complete disregard for law of the land."

RACISM

New Hate Group: The state of Florida, which has been earning unfavorable headlines all over the world as a result of incidents of racial violence, recently strengthened its reputation as hate specialist with the forma-

tion of a new "voluntary organization" called "White Democrats of the South," with headquarters in Tampa.

Individuals applying for membership in the new hate group are sent a questionnaire and told they "must answer each question with an emphatic 'Yes.'" These are the questions:

1. I believe in the Constitution of the United States and American Freedom. .....
2. I pledge with all my might to help destroy Communism and all the deceptive popular front groups who seek to destroy our country. .....
3. I believe in the States' Rights and Segregation of the White Race from the Colored Race according to the laws of the Southern States. .....
4. I will support the White Democrats of the South in their program to support White Candidates for public office and to bring to the public's attention the truth of all civil rights cases framed against white citizens and peace officers by Communistic and all the deceptive popular front groups. .....
5. I am of the White Race, over twenty-one years of age and a citizen of the United States. .....

EDUCATION

School Segregation Issue: The United States Supreme Court has decided to review the public school segregation issue raised in the Clarendon county, South Carolina, and the Topeka, Kansas, cases. A result of the court's ruling is that both sides will have an opportunity to present written and oral arguments on the clear-cut issue of the constitutionality of racial segregation in public elementary and secondary schools.

The new opportunities opened up for Negro students by Supreme Court decisions against segregation on the graduate and professional levels cannot be fully and completely realized until racial segregation at the elementary and high school levels is removed. Because of inferior educational opportunities at the lower educational levels, the mental growth of the vast majority of Negro children is stunted and retarded, leaving most unable to take advantage of the new opportunities available at the university level.

NAACP attorneys argued both the Clarendon county and Topeka cases, which were decided against the Negro students involved, and appealed the cases to the high tribunal. The Supreme Court is expected to hear argument on both cases during the October term of the court.

EMPLOYMENT

CGCC Failure: After six months of operation, the President's Committee on Government contract Compliance has taken no "concrete action

on discrimination in employment," Clarence Mitchell, director ot the NAACP Washington bureau, charged at a hearing before the committee.

The NAACP official cited the failure of the committee to act on a complaint filed against the Washington Telephone Company, warned against pitfalls in the administration of the President's executive order and submitted recommendations for implementing the order.

Appearing before the committee on June 9, Mr. Mitchell said: "One of the first jobs facing the Committee is taking a clear-cut stand against segregation. . . . A second job is establishing rules which will convince employers and contracting agencies that mere volume of colored people on the payroll does not prove there is no discrimination. The committee must accept the principle that, even though a company may have a hundred colored laborers, it discriminates if it refuses to hire qualified colored skilled workers for existing openings. As a third responsibility, the committee must obtain sufficient personnel to do the required job."

Mr. Mitchell expressed regret that "the committee has not yet selected personnel with experience in the field of fair employment practices" and warned "that much valuable time can be lost if the committee staff does not have first hand knowledge of past successes and failures in efforts to correct discriminatory employment practices."

Philco Plant: Continued progress is being made in the elimination of discrimination at the Philadelphia plant of the Philco Corporation. Fifteen more Negro employees have been promoted to production and assembly jobs. Twelve others had already been upgraded on May 26.

Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant of the Association, has been conducting the campaign for upgrading of Negro employees at Philco. He reports that Negroes are now employed in the tube assembly, main television assembly, electric drill, radio assembly, and other production departments.

The upgradings came about as a result of conferences between Mr. Hill and the I.U.E.-C.I.O., District 1, which used the seniority provisions of its union contract to obtain the promotion of Negro workers to production jobs for the first time.

The August-September issue of *The Crisis*, out September first, will give a full report of the 43rd Annual NAACP Convention, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, June 24-29.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: The special activities committee of the LOS ANGELES branch has pledged to solicit 1,000 memberships in the current chapter drive for 6,500 supporters. Judging from past achievements, this committee will go over the top again. In 1951, this committee raised $4,959.42 in contributions and membership fees, and it surpassed its goal of 500 by 80 memberships.

First annual youth conference on civil rights of the BERKELEY COLLEGE CHAPTER was held during the weekend of May 16-18, with workshops, general meetings, and movies featuring the programs.

A beautiful and attractive bronze plaque, mounted on a mahogany background with the NAACP insignia at the top, has been established as a "Noah W. Griffin Merit Award" by regional director Franklin H. Williams. The award is designed to stimulate and encourage branches toward more effective programs, as well as to recognize the tremendous contributions made by the former west coast regional director.

Indicative of the renewed interest in Association activities were the five area conferences recently held in Tucson, San Bernadino, Stockton, Asilomar, all in California; and in Vancouver, Washington. More than 1,000 persons attended the sessions from over 120 communities to hear leading personalities in the fields of housing, law, employment, and other areas of concern to the colored minorities on the West Coast. Plans were completed at these conferences for the institution of a broad and determined attack upon segregation in several different areas, including housing and employment.

Georgia: Johnny Tyler, president of the state NAACP youth conference in Georgia, has been elected president of the Morehouse college student body. All presidential candidates ran on party tickets. Johnny Tyler represented the "Progressive Party."

Illinois: The DECATUR branch reports generous response to its appeal for contributions to the Grooveland-More fund. To date more than $108 has been reported.

Iowa: Regular monthly meeting of the DES MOINES branch was held in May, in addition to a membership report meeting. Branch quota in the membership drive was 1,000 and Ike Smalls presented chairman Mrs. Adam Johnson, Jr., the first 50 members of this quota. The thirty-day campaign was directed by the branch officers and ten membership teams.

Thirteenth annual state conference of Iowa state NAACP branches met in Burlington June 7-8. Highlight of the mass meeting on Sunday, June 8, was presentation of the Ike Smalls trophy.

Massachusetts: Fourteenth annual session of the New England regional

conference of branches of the NAACP was held at the Dunbar Community Center in SPRINGFIELD April 26-27, with a list of distinguished speakers on the program. A significant feature of the conference was the workshop on human rights and civil rights, presided over by Alfred Baker Lewis, a member of the national board of the Association. The workshop was divided into two sections with the following speakers: education: Prof. Harold Harlow of Springfield college, Dr. Mary McLean of the Springfield public school system; and Mrs. Thelma Keitlen, regional director of the Anti-Defamation League, Western Massachusetts; legislation: Atty. Frank Licht, state senator Rhode Island; Atty. Ralph Clampit, state senator Massachusetts; and Atty. Bayard Ewing, state representative Rhode Island. Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP Washington bureau, made the summary.

Michigan: More than 200 members of the GRAND RAPIDS branch paid tribute to local dentist Dr. W. Wilberforce Plummer when he was commissioned a first lieutenant in the Air Corps.

The DETROIT branch mourns the passing in May of Rabbi B. Benedict Glazer, outstanding civic leader and spiritual leader of Temple Beth El.

A damage suit for $10,000 for assault and battery and false imprisonment was filed on May 19 in the Circuit Court for the County of Wayne on behalf of Milton Jones against Raleigh Bolio and Mullins Jackson, members of the Detroit police department. The suit was filed by attorneys Franklin Brown and Kermit Bailer, members of the branch legal redress committee, as result of their investigation of the brutal beating of Jones by the police officers on October 17, 1951. The two officers were off duty in plain clothes and drunk at the time of the drubbing they gave Jones on Woodward avenue near the Club Juana.

PAULINE FOSTER, *president of the Saline County, Mo., NAACP branch.*

The Detroit branch has also broadened its fight upon segregated public housing by having its attorneys file a motion to modify decree in the case of Leroy v. The City of Hamtramck and the Hamtramck Housing Commission (Case #329431) in the Circuit Court for the County of Wayne.

Purpose of the suit is to have the circuit court modify its own decree of 1946 stating that Hamtramck would not have to admit Negroes to its public housing project. The court based its decree on statements of Hamtramck housing officials that additional projects would be built immediately for Negro occupancy.

Atty. Edward Turner was re-elected for his second term as president of the Michigan conference of NAACP branches during the conference held in Grand Rapids May 16-18.

Minnesota: Regular May meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch was devoted to the subject "You and the NAACP."

Missouri: The membership campaign of the SALINE COUNTY branch began with a kick-off meeting in the auditorium of the Lincoln school at Marshall, Misouri. Mrs. Violet Williams and George Green were co-chairmen of the branch membership campaign. These leaders increased the branch membership last year from 43 in 1950 to 120 in 1951.

NEW BRANCH SECRETARY—*Charles A. Shorter, who assumed duties as executive secretary of the Philadelphia, Pa., branch NAACP on May 20, signs contract in the branch office while interested observers, from left, George Morris, chairman personnel committee; James White, NAACP assistant field secretary; and Dr. Harry J. Greene, branch president; look on. Mr. Shorter was formerly branch executive secretary 1945-47.*

Branch president Pauline Foster addressed the Student Christian Association of Missouri Valley college on "The History and Purposes of the NAACP" during the month of May.

Nebraska: May 25 public meeting of the OMAHA branch was addressed by Atty. James Morris, Des Moines outstanding "Young Man of the Year." Atty. Morris is the first Negro to receive this award. There were also choral selections by the Mother Singers of the Lothrop School PTA, directed by Mrs. Robert Myers. The Mother Singers is an interracial group.

New Jersey: Membership campaign of the NEWARK branch opened May 5, with NAACP assistant field secretary John Flamer heading the drive. The branch also sent two delegates to the New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware regional training meetings in the persons of Mrs. Anna Burrell and Mrs. Frances Thompkins. Mrs. Grace Fenderson and Mrs. Mae Williams of the Newark executive board, and Beverly Walker of the youth council, also attended.

On May 4 the branch sponsored a reception and dinner at the Douglas

MEMBERSHIP WORKERS—*Rev. Phale D. Hale (standing), general chairman of the Columbus, Ohio, branch membership campaign, talks over plans with, from left, Oscar Isbell, Mrs. William Duggar, and Barbee Durham, who headed up the campaign. More than* 2,000 *members were added during the campaign.*

hotel to honor Mrs. Grace Fenderson for her more than forty years devotion and service to the Association. Mrs. Fenderson has been a member of the national NAACP board for seventeen years and is now vice-president of the national board. She was for forty years a teacher in the Newark public school system, but is now retired. She also serves as education chairman of the New Jersey Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. Executive secretary Walter White was principal speaker at the dinner.

New Mexico: The ALBUQUERQUE branch presented Dr. Ralph Bunche in a lecture on the United Nations on May 5 at the Highland high school gymnasium. At his request his social engagements were limited to one dinner, a reception, a sightseeing tour of the city, and a luncheon with the University of New Mexico officials and faculty members.

The Albuquerque Tribune carried a short editorial on Dr. Bunche under the title "Welcome Home." Dr. Bunche lived in Albuquerque 1916-17. The branch issued an elaborate and beautifully illustrated program for the occasion.

New York: Dr. E. D. Collymore was eulogized as a "pioneer in the fight to extend the frontiers of democracy" by the WHITE PLAINS branch in a testimonial dinner at the Trinity Methodist church on April 3. One of the founders of the local branch, Dr. Collymore served as its first president for two terms. He returned to the presidency in 1947 and continued in that office until last year, refusing to seek renomination.

Harcourt Tynes, vice-president of the Westchester Urban League, was the chief speaker.

A testimonial and birthday dinner was given by the BUFFALO branch in honor of the Rev. Dr. J. Edward Nash on May 2 at the Hickory Street Christian Center. Dr. Nash is the oldest member of the branch. Dr. Charles Boddie, pastor of the Mt. Olivet Baptist church, Rochester, was the guest speaker.

Sixteenth annual conference of New York state NAACP branches was held at Niagara Falls May 17-18.

North Carolina: The North Carolina conference of NAACP branches held a conference on registration and voting in Raleigh on March 22, with Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP Washington bureau, as principal speaker.

Oregon: Herman C. Plummer, Portland real estate dealer and past president of the PORTLAND branch, won nomination as a Democratic candidate for the 1953 Oregon legislature in the primary elections on May 16. Mr. Plummer polled 33,000 votes to finish eighth in a slate of thirteen.

Pennsylvania: Charles A. Shorter, Sr., began his duties as executive secretary of the PHILADELPHIA branch

MEMBERSHIP TEA—*The Riverhead-Eastern Suffolk, L.I., NAACP branch opened its* 1952 *membership drive with a tea at the home of Mrs. Peachie Booker.*

on May 20 with an appeal for active support from all citizens interested in civic and social progress.

The branch has urged postmaster Raymond Thomas to appoint a Negro to fill the vacancy of senior assistant supervisor at the 30th St. post office; passed a resolution commending the Philadelphia housing authority for its recently announced non-discrimination policy in renting units under its jurisdiction; started a fight against police brutality; and undertaken an intensive campaign to have the "Phillies" hire Negro baseball players.

The branch also reports receiving a second payment of $100 from Dr. Thomas Williams on his life membership, as well as an initial installment of the same amount from the Victory Taxicab Association.

Dr. B. K. Johnson, state conference president, reports reception of $100 by the conference to fight for equal treatment in the state; and that the superintendent of schools in Harrisburg, the state capital, has promised to end segregation in the schools of that city.

Texas: Among the resolutions adopted by the first annual Texas state conference (held at San Antonio, May 2-4) on youth and human rights were ones condemning segregation in education and suggesting the initiation of a campaign to get local branches to get out the Negro vote.

DR. E. D. COLLYMORE, *one of the founders of the White Plains, N. Y., NAACP branch and its first president, who was eulogized in a testimonial dinner given in the Trinity Methodist church, White Plains, on April 3.* *See New York branch item on page 385.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That van Meerhof, Dutch explorer, was the first European to marry a Cape Native?

His wife, Eva, was the first Christianized Native woman in South Africa. The marriage took place during the latter part of the seventeenth century when early South African settlers advocated marriage between European men and Native women.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS — *Members of the Kansas City, Mo., chapter of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity take out $500 life membership in the NAACP.* MIDDLE: *Committee of the Women's Auxiliary of the New Orleans, La., branch which fostered the branch testimonial dinner for Daniel Byrd and Alexander Tureaud.* BOTTOM: *Bishop John H. Clayborn (left) gives Little Rock, Ark., branch president Thad Williams $100 on a life membership.*

HONOREES *Daniel E. Byrd (left) and Alexander Tureaud (right) at testimonial dinner of New Orleans, La., branch in March. From left, Daniel Byrd, A. J. Chapital, branch president, J. K. Haynes, executive secretary, and Alexander Tureaud.*

College and School News

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FRENCH TEACHER

Young Haitian school teacher seeks position as teacher of French in southern college. Has done graduate work in American universities. Speaks fluent English.

Interested schools are asked to write THE CRISIS, 20 W. 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

Attorney Austin T. Walden of Atlanta, Georgia, and the Rev. Austin P. Morris of the Metropolitan AME Zion church, Hartford, Connecticut, were speakers at the seventieth annual commencement of LIVINGSTON COLLEGE. Sixty-three candidates received degrees, including 56 from the college of arts and sciences, 3 from Hood Theological Seminary, and 4 honorary degrees.

■

The 223 June graduates of MORGAN COLLEGE were addressed by Dr. Dwight O. W. Holmes, president-emeritus of the college which he served as president from 1937 to 1948.

■

Willard E. Goslin of George Peabody College for Teachers was commencement speaker at TALLADEGA COLLEGE on June 2.

■

Odilia Jacques of OUR LADY OF THE LAKE COLLEGE (San Antonio, Texas) has been declared the winner of the Southern Conference Educational Fund contest for the best editorial on segregation in education appearing in a college paper. Title of Miss Jacques' editorial, which appeared in *The Phoenix*, was "Democracy Challenges Supremacy Myth."

■

Sixth national convention of the New Homemakers of America con-

vened at TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE May 25-30, with the theme "Working Together for a Better Life for All."

■

Judge William H. Hastie of the Third District U. S. Court of Appeals was speaker for KNOXVILLE COLLEGE'S seventy-seventh annual commencement exercises.

■

Pierre Guédenet, assistant cultural counselor of the French Embassy, has announced the 1952-53 program of THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF AFRICAN PROBLEMS (Centre d'Initiation aux Problèmes Africains) and is willing to furnish complete information to all persons who will write "Centre d'Initiation aux Problèmes Africains," Cultural Services of the French Embassy, 934 Fifth Avenue, New York 21, New York. Tuition for the entire academic year is 15,000 francs, and there are several fellowships made available by the French government for specially qualified students. All courses are conducted in French and students must have a sound practical knowledge of the language.

■

Ladislas Segy, owner of the Segy Gallery, 708 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, New York, announces the availability of a new ten-minute film on African sculpture titled "Buma-African Sculpture Speaks." The film is distributed by Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc.

■

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ODILIA JACQUES *of Our Lady of the Lake college, San Antonio, Texas, winner of SCEF award for best editorial on segregation.* *See page* 388.

A conference on research in race relations will be held at the UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, July 26-30, for all persons engaged in research, policy making, or social action in this field. Purpose of the conference is to assess the present state of race relations research in the light of the practical needs for knowledge and the possibilities and resources for obtaining it.

■

Thirty-one Negroes are included among the 53 Opportunity Fellowships recipients announced by the

WILLIAM E. GOSLIN, *commencement speaker at Talladega college.*

JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION, New York City. The fellowship winners will receive grants for training and study totaling $100,000.

Of the 20 recipients of the John Hay Fellows, awards granted by the Whitney Foundation to public high school teachers, two are Negro. Mrs. Minerva Johnson of Nashville, Tennessee, plans to attend Columbia university; Mrs. Evelyn Robinson of Atlanta, Georgia, Yale.

■

TOUGALOO COLLEGE plans to transform its high school into a college preparatory school, according to an announcement of President Harold Warren. The college preparatory school should be especially attractive to those who plan professional careers.

■

Dr. Ernest Wilkins, Chicago attorney and senior member of the law firm of Wilkins, Wilkins, and Wilkins, was principal speaker at CLARK COLLEGE'S eighty-second commencement exercises on June 3. The baccalaureate address was delivered on June 1 by Dr. A. Wesley Pugh, superintendent of the Fort Wayne district of the North Indiana Conference of the Methodist church.

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Dr. Buell Gallagher, assistant U. S. commissioner of education, Office of Education, delivered the commencement address at CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE on June 11.

Central State announces the *Journal of Human Relations*, a new quarterly devoted to the problems of human association. The first number, Spring 1952, was issued in June. The journal sells for $1.25 a copy, $3.00 a year.

Joseph Fumi and Alexander Baffor, two seniors in the department of agriculture and residents of Accra, West Africa, have successfully grown native African "Tiger Nuts" in the United States. The tiger nuts have a high protein content, it is believed, far in excess of American legumes.

Albert Anonye of Nigeria, West Africa, was elected vice-president of the Association of International Relations Clubs at its annual meeting at Marquette university. The AIR clubs have more than 500 students from the United States, Canada, and other countries and are an affiliate of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace.

■

Commencement speakers at ALBANY STATE COLLEGE were Dr. Garret T. Wiggins, dean of Washington junior college, Pensacola, Florida, and Rev. Charles Haynes, professor of social science at Talladega.

■

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock of Virginia Union University was eighty-seventh commencement speaker at SHAW UNIVERSITY on May 26, at which time 130 candidates received

degrees. The baccalaureate sermon was preached by Dr. W. H. R. Powell, pastor of the Shiloh Baptist church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Honorary degrees of Doctor of Divinity were conferred upon Rev. Alonzo Johnson, Mount Bright Baptist church, Hillsboro; Rev. Rufus Underwood, Sr., Mount Zion Baptist church, Rocky Mount; and Rev. William Strassner, Shaw president.

Because of the heavy financial burden of athletic scholarships and the urgent need to develop various areas of the academic program, the Shaw board of trustees, at its annual meeting on April 2, 1952, voted the continuance of athletics but that it was unwise for the university to offer athletic scholarships as such for 1952-53. It also voted that if the alumni wishes to help worthy students who are athletes, funds for such purpose will be administered by a joint alumni-faculty committee.

Samuel L. Green, instructor in art at Shaw, has been awarded a full fellowship for a two months summer study period at the Skowhegan School of Painting and Sculpture of Skowhegan, Maine. The fellowship is based on scholarship and artistic ability.

Over one hundred Shaw students were cited for outstanding achievements in various extra-curricular activities at the Annual Awards Day on May 14.

■

The Egyptian ambassador, Mohamed Kamil Bey Abdul Rahim, was a surprise visitor to the campus of KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE in May.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY awarded 96 graduate degrees at its eighty-third commencement exercises on June 2. The commencement address was delivered by Judge Homer S. Brown of the County Court, Allegheny county, Pennsylvania.

The Atlanta University Summer School has a number of guest professors in attendance at its 1952 session, which opened June 7 for

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nine weeks. The list includes Dr. Margaret Butcher from Howard, English; Dr. Kenneth Waldock of Harper college, chemistry; Gladys Anderson, Tallahassee, Florida, library work; Clarice Jones, library consultant; Esther Fennell, Negro elementary education; Martha Riddick, library service; and John Morrow from Talladega, French.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY is the first Negro college to hold a qualifying tennis tournament sanctioned by the United States Lawn Tennis Association. The tournament was held on the university campus, Richmond, Virginia, May 23-24.

■

President Albert Dent of Dillard university delivered the annual commencement address at SPELMAN COLLEGE on June 2. More than 60 young seniors were awarded degrees on this occasion.

Mrs. Margaret Curry, co-chairman of the 1952 founder's day rally, has announced the receipt of nearly $10,000.

■

THE METROPOLITAN MUSIC SCHOOL, New York City, announces that in addition to its regular eight weeks summer course it is offering a play school for children.

■

Jean D. Woodson, a June graduate in the department of home economics at TENNESSEE A. & I. STATE UNIVERSITY, has been granted a General Education Board scholarship.

■

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leges for Negroes, Samuel Huston and Tillotson of Austin, Texas, were officially merged on April 16. The new name of the consolidated institution is HUSTON-TILLOTSON COLLEGE. Termed an "economic necessity," groundwork for the merger was laid by a joint committee representing the owners: The Methodist Church's General Board of Education (Samuel Huston founded in 1900) and the American Missionary Society of the Congregational Christian Churches (Tillotson founded in 1877).

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY celebrated its seventeenth annual commencement exercises on May 28, with Dr. Buell G. Gallagher of the United States Office of Education delivering the main address. Seventy-seven persons graduated in the class of 1952, ten of them with honors.

The Edward G. Schlieder Educational Foundation established through the will of the late Edward G. Schlieder, New Orleans businessman and philanthropist, has appropriated $45,000 to Dillard for its educational program in medicine, nursing, and allied fields. The appropriation covers a three-year period.

■

One hundred twenty-four candidates received degrees at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY on June 4 after an address by Dr. John W. Davis, president of West Virginia State College.

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"TIGER NUT" EXPERIMENTERS—*Central State college students Joseph Fumi and Alexander Baffor, both agricultural majors from Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa, have succeeded in transplanting the "tiger nut," a high protein legume with vast possibilities as a cattle food, to American soil under special conditions.*

Commencement speakers at WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE were Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president Howard university, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps Stokes Fund, New York City. Approximately 125 graduates received degrees and 45 young men were awarded commissions as second lieutenants in the reserve forces of the U. S. Army.

Founder's day was observed at the college on May 3; armed forces day, May 16; annual women's day, May 4; and the first annual festival of arts, May 8-10. The college summer school opened June 2.

Dr. Herman G. Canady, profes-

(*Continued on page* 400)

Book Reviews

UNENDING TRIAL

***Invisible Man* (A Novel). By Ralph Ellison. New York: Random House, 1952. 439pp. $3.50.**

Probably the most remarkable fact about Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* is that it truly deserves the accolades of praise which sober and competent critics are awarding it. Devoid of focus, but epic in purpose and written in a highly charged poetic prose, it argues the recognition of the individual apart from sociological design and ethnocentric morality. As such, it is tragic—its tragedy being that of a sensitive human being's rebellion against idols while in search of himself.

For nearly every character in this novel — groups and individuals alike — attempts to impose his idea of reality upon the protagonist, to make of him a "confirmer of their misconceptions." Hence, the action is a series of increasingly tense and meaningful conflicts which build up like the surging motion of an angry, incoming tide. It begins in a small southern town and leaves the reader exhausted by excitement at a symbolic image-burning scene after a wild riot in Harlem.

At the very outset, the mainspring of these conflicts is wound up in the words of that "meekest of men," the grandfather who had made a deathbed confession-command with the compelling authority of the ghost in *Hamlet*: ". . . our life is a war and I have been a traitor all my born days. . . . Live with your head in the lion's mouth . . . overcome 'em with yeses, undermine 'em with grins, agree 'em to death and destruction, let 'em swoller you till they vomit or bust wide open."

These words follow *Invisible Man* as he charts the unending trial by fire consequent to being "Negro" in three typically American situations: as a bright and ambitious high school graduate trained to advertise by oration the Booker T. Washington concept of servile humility, he is nearly strangled in a lather of scapegoat sadism worked up by his southern town's leading citizens; as a student in a Negro college, he is "shipped off" to New York because he refuses to value the reality of the lie to which the college owes its existence; and as the oratorical articulator of Harlem's grievances in the hire of the Red Brotherhood, he is sacrificed in a de-emphasis on the Negro struggle subsequent to a party-line shift.

The principal characters instrumental to this action, although largely subsumed by the atmospheric detail which lends them credence, are men whose lives turn mainly upon a zealous reverence for power. Of these, the most painfully true is Dr. Herbert Bledsoe, a specimen of that repulsive cult of academic autocrats in whom power has singled vision to self interest. The ethics of Bledsoe are fashioned from

the one thing he knows above all else: "Power is confident, self-assuring, self-starting and self-stopping, self-warming and self-justifying." Or again: "These white folk have newspapers, magazines, radios, spokesmen to get their ideas across. If they want to tell the world a lie, they can tell it so well that it becomes the truth. . . ."

Yet a partial explanation for Bledsoe is Norton, the Boston multi-millionaire-philanthropist who had been for "forty years a bearer of the white man's burden, and for sixty a symbol of the Great Traditions." For Norton, like Bledsoe, prides himself on his ability to organize human life — for others.

But Norton bears an equally close resemblance to another character: Trueblood, whose daughter was pregnant with her father's child. For certainly the Greco-Freudian overtones of Trueblood's dream-drenched narration of his act of sin are heightened by the suggestion of a vicarious experience indicatd in Norton's rapt attention. After all, had not the beauty of his own daughter been a "well-spring of purest water-of-life upon which to look was to "drink and drink and drink again. . . ."

At the paint factory in New York's Long Island, it is the struggle for control between Emerson and the union that has indirectly driven Lucius Brockway into a psycopathic ward of himself. In Harlem, this same jealous grasping for power — the tragic irony of men goaded into mortal combat by the wily bitch of false reality — sets Ras the Exhorter-Destroyer against the Brotherhood, and Wrestrum against Invisible Man.

With this it is understandable that Ellison should be compared with Richard Wright, for his novel offers a shocking experience. Yet Ellison has neither the economy of prose style nor the profound and sustained tragic sense of a Wright. His treatment of Harlem often—perhaps too often—borders on burlesque. But what he does have is an equally sharp sense of conflict, a dexterity for pitting force against force, and the rare gift of weaving with masterful story-telling ability the rich texture of atmospheric reality. Moreover, he displays in *Invisible Man* the vertical virtuosity of at once reaching up to the canon of the New Criticism and down through the sub-soil of graphic verity from which the classic American epic may soon issue. Indeed, in the metaphor of violence mounted upon fluid prose he has here effected a transcendence of irony in elevating the literature of liberty above the bitter data of direct protest.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

HENRY F. WINSLOW *teaches English at Hampton Institute, Virginia.*

POIGNANCY

***Laughing to Keep from Crying.* By Langston Hughes. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952. 206 pp. $2.75.**

Langston Hughes' latest book is a collection of short stories of Harlem life and the color line, marked by the author's usual folksiness, whimsy, and satire. They range in time from the days of the Harlem Renaissance to the present, and in subject matter from vignettes of Harlem life, through tragedies of love and sex, to incisive commentaries on race and caste in America.

Included are such items as the humorously told incident of a white couple passing as Negroes; the heart-rending story (apparently based on an experience recorded in Hughes' autobiography, *The Big Sea)* of an African youngster with a white father who finds himself rejected by every one; the realistic portrayal of a pushcart vender on a Harlem street; the satirical study of a jaded, wealthy white youth who found

fun and excitement in being held up and stripped of his valuables while on his way to a Harlem night club; and the bitter account of a Negro actor breaking up a strike called by his fellow performers in protest against playing to audiences from which Negroes are excluded. Two of the best are "One Friday Morning," the all-too common story of a high school girl who is deprived of a well merited award because of her color; and the one about the Professor who, "dancing to the tune of jim crow education" toadies to white philanthropists in order to obtain money for his school.

As usual with Langston Hughes these stories are told with insight into the life he records, and with the verve, spice and droll good humor which provide the laughter necessary to keep the reader from crying. They will universally be found entertaining and pungent, and Hughes' admirers will consider them first rate.

AUGUST MEIER

VALUABLE DOCUMENTS

***The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass,* Volume III: The Civil War, 1861-1865. By Philip S. Foner. New York: International Publishers, 1952. 448pp. $4.50.**

In this third volume of his projected four volume *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass,* Mr. Foner continues the presentation of the valuable documents—speeches, letters, newspaper editorials—of the noted abolitionist leader. While the biographical sections add nothing to the scholarly account of Benjamin Quarles' *Frederick Douglass,* and although Foner makes a big point of showing where Douglass and Karl Marx agreed in their views on the Civil War — thus failing to see the essential rooting of Douglass' philosophy in the culture and values of middle-class America — the volume is

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important and significant for the documents it presents. These include not only extensive selections from *Douglass' Monthly* (which is available to students and scholars on microfilm), but also letters and speeches which are less readily available. Foner has done an important and competent service in making these materials available to the public in book form.

Revealed in the *Writings* is Douglass the abolitionist, who from the first saw the Civil War not as a war to save the Union (as was officially proclaimed), but as a war which would bring the end of slavery. To Douglass the most effective way to bring the war to an early and successful conclusion would be to emancipate and arm the slaves, and he excoriated the government for its refusal to champion the cause of the slave and enlist Negroes in its own defense. The reader thrills with Douglass upon the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation: a day, as Douglass called it, for poetry and song. From then on Douglass became a vigorous recruiter of Negroes for the armed services, at the same time lashing out against discriminations in matters of pay and promotion suffered by Negro soldiers. Douglass furthermore displayed an interest not only in winning the war and abolishing slavery, but also in the future task of gaining for Negroes full equality and all the rights of American citizenship. Douglass emerges from his writings in his full stature as an able leader and brilliant crusader battling for the fulfillment of America's democratic creed.

AUGUST MEIER

COLLEGE NEWS

(*Continued from page* 396)

sor of psychology at WVSC, was unanimously elected chairman of the psychology section of the West Virginia Academy of Science at its twenty-seventh annual meeting held at West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, West Virginia.

When the college presented Kaj Munk's *The Word* May 8-10, this was the first time this four-act Danish play had been brought to an American audience in English. Dan-

ish ambassador Henrik Kauffmann attended the performance on May 9.

■

The Lincoln Clarion, campus weekly tabloid at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.), was unanimously accepted on May 9 as a member of the Missouri College Newspaper Association.

Commencement exercises and the conferring of degrees took place at Lincoln on June 9, with President E. B. Evans of Prairie View A. & M. College delivering the main address.

■

JACKSON COLLEGE celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary May 1-2, with addresses by James Evans, civilian assistant to the Secretary of Defense; Clarence Faust, president of the Ford Foundation for the Advancement of Education; David Goitein, minister plenipotentiary of Israel; Judge William Hastie of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals; and Francis Russell, director of Office of Public Affairs, U. S. Department of State.

■

H. A. Johnson, director of athletics at FISK UNIVERSITY, announced recently that Fisk has been admitted to active membership in the National Collegiate Athletic Association. Fisk was elected to membership by the third district of the NCAA. This membership makes Fisk eligible, by executive committee action, for all 1952 NCAA meets and tournaments.

Fisk has received a grant of $500,000 from the General Education Board. Of this sum, $300,000 will be for endowment and $200,000 for strengthening faculty, staff, and program. The first amount will be matched on a 2 for 1 basis; the second, a 1 for 1 basis. Since 1948 the university budget has increased from $835,151 to $1,034,556, and the instructional budget from $220,495 to $351,346.

Helen M. Chesnutt, daughter of the late Charles Waddell Chesnutt, has given her father's literary effects to Fisk to be known as the *Charles W. Chesnutt Collection.*

Annual Interdenominational Ministers Institute celebrated twenty-five years of continuous service when it met at Fisk June 16-20.

The university awarded 173 degrees, 17 of them master of arts degrees, at its seventy-first annual commencement exercises on June 2. Dr. Harry J. Carman, professor of history at Columbia university, delivered the commencement address.

■

An "Open House" celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the American Society of Civil Engineers was held at HOWARD UNIVERSITY May 5-6 by the Howard university school of engineering and architecture.

Federal security administrator Oscar R. Ewing made a formal presentation of two new women's dormitories to Howard at dedication services held on the campus on May 9. The buildings, Wheatley and Baldwin halls, are the first to be completed in the university's new $17,000,000 building program.

Dr. Walter M. Booker, associate professor of pharmacology in the medical school, has been named

chairman of the American Physiological Society. An active member of the society since 1939, Dr. Booker has devoted the past six years to the study of the function of the adrenal gland as related to Vitamin C.

President Harry S. Truman delivered the commencement address on June 13. Honorary degrees were conferred upon Paul R. Williams, architect of Los Angeles, California; and Judge J. Waties Waring of South Carolina.

Approximately 200 students, faculty, and student-personnel representatives from sixty-two institutions of higher education in twenty-five states attended the Howard university conference on "Education for Positive and Effective Living" held on the campus May 8-10.

MUSICAL AMBASSADOR

(*Continued from page* 357)

Symphony, Kay's *Suite for Orchestra*, Amadeo Roldán's (Afro-cuban (*La Rebambaramba*, and the world *première* of the work of the Negro photographer Gordon Parks, "Symphonic Set" (recorded in New York by M. Smith Studios) for piano and orchestra.

Dixon has acquired a large youth following, particularly in the Scandinavian countries. Soloists Syvelin Langholm and Yrjoo Ikonen were heard under Dixon's baton in a special presentation for children in the hospitals. The translations were made simultaneously in Finnish and Swedish for their understanding. He has already given a benefit concert for orphans under the sponsorship of the Mannerheim League and the Modern Musical Society in Helsinki and will continue other such presentations this season.

Despite difficulties, Dean Dixon, who has set a precedent abroad as conductor and musical genuis of the highest calibre, holds to his credo *ad astra per aspera*, to the stars through difficulty.

SEGREGATED HOUSING

(*Continued from page* 353)

We must remember that half the new dwelling units constructed during the period 1946 to 1950 and nine-tenths of the apartment buildings started in 1950 were financed with FHA and VA mortgage insurance. In addition, there was, of course, federally-fiananced pubic housing, and in the years ahead there will be an appreciable volume of construction on sites assembled and underwritten by Federal and local agencies under Title I. This means that an increasing proportion—now well over 55 per cent—of new construction is facilitated through the use of Federal funds. Also, a much larger proportion of the large-scale housing developments available to low and medium-income families are today supported in varying degrees by tax funds. And the trend will continue at an accelerated rate as Title I operations get under way.

In this situation, federal housing policies, more than any single factor, determine the racial patterns of the

cities of tomorrow. It is important, therefore, that we act now to reverse the unmistakable trend toward the initiation, extension, and perpetuation of residential segregation by publicly-supported and government-directed housing activities.

NIGERIAN TORCHBEARER

(*Continued from page* 365)

to the P.W.C., rendering a part of their verdict in these words:

He is a man capable of thinking supra-nationally. . . . There are many difficulties involved in holding elections of delegates to represent the people living under colonial systems of government, military occupation, and totalitarian regimes. But it is not possible to create or organize a Peoples World Convention without the people of these countries being represented.

It is good to know that shortly after Ita's return from the Convention, after briefly but momentously meeting Prime Minister Nehru at the Geneva airport, he set out again on a 2,000-mile tour, addressing many thousands. Everywhere, he writes, he was met with deep enthusiasm, and found his people, proud and happy over his success, fired with fresh zest for world government.

The three-fold dedication of this dauntless torchbearer seems well summed up in words he has written to his people:

We must be willing to become big, bigger than tribe. We must be capable of the 'new birth of freedom' as a united nation; and we must be bigger still. We must be capable of the more expansive world citizenship. Imperialism lingers on earth because we have been living in 'many worlds,' warring communities, class-dominated peoples, split and multiple personalities. Now we have reached the moment when one Nigerian nation must come to birth and One World must become a dynamic reality. Democracy has arrived to oust imperialism. We must be integrated in order that the world may have this divine consummation. . . .

MINORITY STOCKHOLDERS

(*Continued from page* 368)

if a corporation persists in a discriminatory hiring policy, stockholders cannot have the matter placed on the meeting agenda because the question is a social one.

Finally, I again appeal to others who happen to be Greyhound stockholders to join our campaign by getting in touch with me at 552 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page* 373)

kindly to the idea. To Americans a circus is just fun, but to the Belgian colonial government it might be an attack on white "prestige." Not direct, of course, but by implication. So before the brothers De Jonghe could get their permit they had to agree to abide by certain rules, some of which follow:

No abbreviated costumes for white performers. No white clowns to be ridiculed by native actors. Every act must be clearly explained. For instance, if a horse is dancing to music, native ballet dancer will perform to the same music.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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P. O. Box 232, Greenville
Telephone: 2-7361

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Office: FA4895; Home: FA0853

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403 Gainsboro Rd., N. W., Roanoke
Telephone: 9751

WEST VIRGINIA

Willard L. Brown
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Washington at Jacob St.
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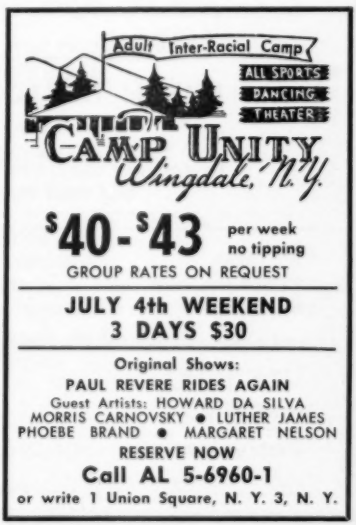
Telephones: 30-341; 21-470



Here's a Hot Tip

The Crisis **has been fortunate enough to secure a few Copies of the First Edition of Walter White's**

THE FIRE IN THE FLINT

Of this book the late Sinclair Lewis said:

"It seems probable to me that *Fire in the Flint* and *A Passage to India* will prove much the most important books of this autumn. The *Fire in the Flint* is splendidly courageous, rather terrifying and of the highest significance."

Fire in the Flint was one of the first, if not the first, novels to be written about the race problem in the South which was not written to appease the South.

A Boston, Massachusetts, rare-book dealer recently advertised a few copies of this novel as being available at $12.00 each. But THE CRISIS is selling *Fire in the Flint* at $3.50, autographed.

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW. ONLY A FEW AVAILABLE

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59TH ANNUAL CONDENSED FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Southern Aid Life Insurance Co., Inc.

AS OF

DECEMBER 31, 1951

— ASSETS —

Cash	$ 86,981.24
Stocks & Bonds	1,428,072.77
Policy Loans, Mortgages & Real Estate	1,289,319.93
Interest, Rents and Premiums Due and Accrued	35,605.71
Total	$2,839,979.65

— LIABILITIES —

Legal Reserve on Outstanding Policies	$1,560,597.46
Reserved for Claims, Taxes, Dividends and Misc.	131,984.07
	$1,692,581.53
*Capital, Contingent Reserves and Surplus	1,147,398.12
Total	$2,839,979.65

* February 14, 1952 Paid in Capital Increased to $300,000.00.

Southern Aid Life Insurance Co., Inc.

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